THE EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT OF SIR SYED AHMED KHAN

1858-1898

by

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Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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University of London

December, 1959.

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Dr. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.
1817-1898.

Contents.

Abstract

This thesis attempts to study the salient features of the educational movement of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan,its origin and development at broad stages,and its important achievements.

For this purpose the thesis is divided into five chapters and certain sub-chapters. Chapter one deals with pre-Mutiny Indian Muslim life. A brief life sketch of Sir Syed is given,tracing the development of his religious,political and educational ideas up to the Mutiny.

Chapter two deals with the first phase of the movement,when Sir Syed's efforts were still to educate the Muslims according to th old ideals,though in politics he sought to bring about a better understanding between the Muslims and the British Government.

Chapter three reviews and discusses the formation during his stay in England of Sir Syed's policy of regenerating the Muslims spiritually,culturally and politically through education on Western lines.

Chapter four is concerned with the activities of Sir Syed afte his return from Europe up to 1878,when the M.A.O.College took a tangible shape. It is divided into three sub-chapters so as to perm the tracing of Sir Syed's activities in different fields-political, social and educational. It closes with the foundation of the College

Chapter five deals with the progress and achievements of

of the M.A.O.College. Attention is also paid to such of Sir Syed's outside activities as accelerated his success with the College.

In the conclusion the effect of the new evidence produced in the thesis upon the views hitherto held of Sir Syed's movement are finally reviewed.

Preface

The interest in nineteenth-century Muslim movements in India, whether political, social, educational or economic, which the creation of Pakistan has fostered, drew my attention to that major Muslim figure, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. His importance was recognized in his own day--as can be seen from the writing of biographies in 1885 by Graham, and by Hali in 1901. More recent works such as that by Baljon in 1949, or the more general studies, such as that by Dr.T.G.P.Spear, have confirmed the earlier estimation of his role.

None of these works, however, is as complete or as critical as could be desired. Graham's work, even in the second edition, virtually stops at 1885, and though it ostensibly deals with the whole of Sir Syed's life, it concentrates in effect on the years 1869-85. Much space is devoted to long verbatim extracts from Sir Syed's letters and speeches, so that the Life becomes a source book rather than an assessment. Hali's Life, a much fuller and a better work, is nevertheless shaped in part by the old Muslim idea of history as a source of direct moral instruction to the reader. Some aspects of Sir Syed's activities are therefore ignored so that Hali can present his career as a model for all young Muslims to follow. Moreover, the arrangement of the work, an historical account of Sir Syed's activities in one part and criticism and assessment of events in a

second part,lessens the usefulness of the work,particularly for a general reader.The works of Bashir Ahmad Dar and Baljon and as indicated by their titles The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Religious Thoughts of Sayyid Ahmad Khan respectively, have narrower aims,and which only partially overlap with the subject of this thesis. Other modern works,in Urdu,by Nur ur Rahman,and Zahur Ahmad,and a brief work in English by Albiruni,are sketches of Sir Syed' life,based largely on Hali. Hampton's Biographical Studies in Modern Indian Education though brief,does deal more directly with Sir Syed's educational policies,but the author has relied entirely on printed English material.

Though this thesis does not attempt to cover all aspects of Sir Syed's life and work,it does seek to provide a fuller,more critical assessment of the educational movement associated with his name than can be found in the above authors. For this purpose a wide range of materials,some of which were neglected or were inaccessible to those authors,have been consulted.

The great bulk of this material is in Urdu. It includes almost no manuscript material,but covers nevertheless Sir Syed's letters and speeches as well as his articles and publications. This material, even when available,was virtually unused except by Hali,and his work being so wide in scope made but limited use of it. In addition the thirty five years' issues of the Aligarh Institute Gazette have been consulted,in which material is found in both English and Urdu.

Writings in Urdu of Sir Syed's friends and companions--Muhsin ul Mulk,Zaka ullah,Nazir Ahmad,Chiragh 'Ali and others-- have also been utilized,as well as writings of those who could be classed as c ritics and enemies.

The other main category of material consulted is the Educational Reports both of India and of the North-Western Provinces, and forty years of Educational Proceedings and Despatches,with one odd item from the Home Miscellaneous Series. These official papers were virtually unknown to both Graham and Hali.

I have also used such newspapers as The Pioneer, the Friend of India, The Moslem Chronicle and journals and magazines of Sir Syed's day.

By the use of such new materials and by writing from a different perspective,it is hoped that this thesis will serve to throw new light upon Sir Syed's ideas and actions,and to modify some at least of the earlier judgements upon him.

A word about the spelling of Sir Syed Ahmed. The name has been written as Sir Syed himself used to write it. (In the Mutiny Papers there is a letter of Sir Syed to Sir John Kaye signed in this way.)

We have from the beginning used the title of Sir with the name of Syed Ahmed Khan because the title has become inseparably associated with his name; he was in fact knighted only in 1886.

Abbreviations

.A.I.G.	Aligarh Institute Gazette.
.Ar.	Arabic.
.Eng.	English.
.Hayat.	Hayat i Javid by Altaf Husain Hali.
.Khutut.	Khutut i Sir Syed,ed.Sir Ross Mas'Ud.
.Life.	The Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, by G.F.I.Graham.
.Mazamin.	Mazamin i Tahzib ul Akhlaq of Sir Syed, vol.II.
.Muk.Maj.	Mukammal Majmuai Lectures wa Speeches of Sir Syed, ed. Muhammad Imam ud Din.
.Per.	Persian.
.Ur.	Urdu.

Chapter 1

The Decline of the Old Order

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Political Decline.

In the first quarter of the 19th century when Syed Ahmed Khan, the subject of this thesis, was born, Mughal rule had ceased to exist in all but name. "The successors of Aurangzeb were still accorded the formalities of their imperial rank, but the scope of their real authority was confined to a steadily shrinking area round Delhi"[1]. They were authorised, for instance, to enjoy all their titles, to confer titles upon their retainers and to enjoy the formal submission of the East India Company. But in any matter of policy, or in the wider sphere of administration, they could show "no sign of resistance, or self-determination"[2]. The city outside the Fort and even the jagirs assigned to them were administered by the British Residents. The old administration was being gradually replaced by a British administration, served not by Mughal, but by British officers.

With the passing of time things went from bad to worse. In 1832 the offices of Resident and of Chief Commissioner were abolished. The anomalous system of dual administration was put an end to, and "in name as well as in actual fact, the administration

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1. Coupland, India: A Re-Statement, p.18.
2. Andrews, Zaka Ullah of Delhi, p.26

passed into the hands of the East India Company[1]". In 1835 the coinage which had so far borne the Mughal name and title, was replaced by the Company's currency. In 1837 when Akbar Shah died and Bahadur Shah ascended the throne the nazr of the Company was presented, but for the last time[2]. Towards 1839 it was decided that the Mughal royal titl and residence at the Red Fort should come to an end with Bahadur Shah. On the death of the heir-apparent, Dara Bakht, Lord Dalhousie decided that British recognition of the new heir apparent should go to whichever prince was prepared to forgo the title of king and to move his abode to the Qutb precincts, seven miles from Delhi. The Governor-General Canning, therefore, rejected Bahadur Shah's request that Jawan Bakht, a younger but favourite son, be recognised as heir, and instead nominated Mirza Fakhru who was weak enough to accept the position without the title, and was henceforth termed 'Prince'. (Lord Dalhousie had even gone so far as to suggest the abolition of the title on the spot. He argued that "...even if the title had been abolished on the spot, the Musulmans would not have cared two straws about the family[3]"). Thus the political power of the Mughals was fast disappearing. 'At this gradual disappearance of power and prestige, the king and his immediate retainers may have felt the pangs of humiliation, but they were far from able to arrest the decline. There was not even unity and co-operation among the officers and courtiers of the aged Bahadur Shah. The affairs of the adminis-

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1. Gazetteer of the Delhi District 1883-4, Punjab Govt. p.24.
2. Kaye, A History of the Sepoy War, vol.II, p.12.
3. Lord Dalhousie, Letter to Sir George Couper, July, 21, 1857, Private Letters of Lord Dalhousie, p.382.

tration,as far as they remained within the Emperor's power,went from bad to worse. "The Emperor himself became the prey of greedy courtiers and sycophants,who used to flatter him and praise in extravagant terms his musical and poetic skill in order to obtain his bounty. In this way large sums of money were extracted from him,which ought to have been used for purposes of State. The royal princes had their own way in state affairs. They quarelled among themselves while the old Emperor sank down into senility and dotage"[1].

Yet Bahadur Shah,for all his weakness,was well loved by his people, who were heartened by his presence among them. He was himself a notable exponent of Mughal culture,and encouraged it by his example and his patronage. His was " a great and potent name"[2],even though his death seemed likely to see it extinguished.

In the political decline of the Mughal Emperor,the symbol of the power of the Muslims,that of the Muslim aristocracy was directly involved. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century,when the British occupied North India,the aristocracy consisted mostly of Muslims,with a few Hindus-- Rajputs and Kayasths and Brahmans. The Muslims were the descendants of Turk,Afghan,Uzbeg and Mughal conquerors and had established themselves most successfully as the upper classes. As the policy of successive conquerors had never been one of mass conversion[3], the Muslims always formed a small minority strictly of town dwellers. "Even when large landholders,they were themselves resident in towns,the management of their land being

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1.Andrews,Zaka Ullah of Delhi,p.14.
2.Kaye and Malleson,History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-8,vol.1.p.34
3.Philips,India,p.27.

deputed to others"[1]. In the towns, they formed centres of power and culture, with a social importance proportionally much greater than their numbers. A considerable area of North India was divided among them as revenue-free land granted for religious or political purposes, or as marks of favour shown to individuals. "the whole of the city area, /of Shahjahanpur/ was a mu'afi and owned by Pathans"[2]. In Moradabad" the number of revenue-free holdings continued in favour of influential families of Sayyids was very large"[3]. A similar condition was to be found in Bareilly, Bijnor and other places. Extensive tracts were commonly granted for religious or charitable purposes[4]. In Delhi the Sayyids were awarded "extensive property".

If a great number of Muslims thus owned landed property, a still greater number enjoyed higher appointments in the administration. The administration of the Imperial Taxes was the first great source of income-and the Muslim aristocracy monopolized it. The police was another source of income, and the Police was officered by Muhammadan The Courts of Law were a third great source of income, and the Muslims monopolized them. Above all, there was the army, and the army was officered by Muslims[5]. Thus for centuries they had been the leaders of men and by that time had assumed, in the words of Lord Elgin, that "they had a natural right to be leaders of men and to occupy the first places in India"[6].

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1. Bourne, Hindustani Musalmans and Musalmans of the Eastern Punjab, p.23.
2. Nevill, A Gazetteer, District Shahjahanpur, vol.vii, p.95.
3. Powell, Land Systems of British India, vol.ii, p.155.
4. Delhi district with maps, Punjab District Gazetteer vol.v.p.67.
5. Hunter, The Indian Musalmans, p.155. This statement of Hunter is a little too sweeping: such Hindus as had a share in the upper levels of Mughal administration were often found in the revenue department The most notable name is that of Todar Mal, diwan under Akbar.
6. Letter to Sir Charles Wood, Sept.9, 1862, Letters and Journals of the Earl of Elgin, p.421.

The position of the Muslims in India, a handful of conquerors in a multitudinous Hindu population, tended to make the holding of a government post a sign of trust and importance. Government officials therefore had close contact with the king and, forming almost "the only aristocracy"[1], they had become "everything"[2]. They had enjoyed a tremendous influence on society and had "constituted a sort of agency through which the ideals of art and morals and manners were diffused among the lower classes... The habits and customs of the people, their ideas, tendencies, and ambitions, their tastes and pleasures, were often unconsciously fashioned on their model"[3].

Such an aristocracy, important for centuries, had naturally tended to become very conservative and proud of its religion, culture, learning and traditions. The tendency had been strengthened by the political need to maintain the ruling class distinct from the conquered Hindus.[4] With the transfer of power into the East India Company's hands its position was undermined. The position of the holders of rent-free lands was brought into question by the British authorities.[5] Special Commissioners were appointed to enquire into land titles. Whoever failed to establish his full title to the grants from the Mughals lost his land.[6] The whole number of cases tried cannot now be ascertained but one can note that W.Tayler, a single resumption official decided as many as nine hundred cases in one day, and that the resumption proceed-[7]

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1. Sleeman, Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official, vol.2, p.264.
2. ibid. p.182.
3. Abd ul 'Aziz, quoted by 'Abd ul Qadir, The Legacy of India, ed.Garratt, p.297.
4. 'Ubaid ullah, Sindhi, Maulana 'Ubaid ullah Sindhi, ed.Muhammad Sarwar, p.289.
5. See Marshman, A Compilation of the Regulations and Circular Orders relative to the Resumption and Settlement of Estates,
6. Sir Syed, The Causes of the Indian Revolt, p. 26.
7. Mittra, Memoir of Dwarkanath Tagore, pp.32-3.

ings begun in 1826 continued till 1852. Many estates were confiscated and large amounts were added to the government revenue from lands previously held rent-free. In Bareilly alone the net increase of one year,1838, was Rs.40,665.[1] The sufferings and degradation of the m'uafidars was incredible. The holders of rent-free lands had been both Hindus and Muslims,but the Muslims,having very old titles to such lands,and being less careful to preserve their deeds,were harrassed more[2]

If the British conception of justice deprived an important section of the Muslim aristocracy of their source of income,the cautious policy of the East India Company excluded all Muslims from every station of high rank and honourable ambition. No doubt,the Charter Act of 1833 contained the clause: "And be it enacted,that no native of the said territories,nor any natural-born Subject of His Majesty resident therein shall,by reason only of his Religion,Place of Birth,Descent,Colour,or any of them,be disabled from holding any Place,Office,or Employment under the said Company"[3]. But "nomination remained for twenty years longer; when open competition replaced it in 1853 the examinations were held in Britain,and it was not until 1864 that the first Indian entered the Indian Civil Service"[4]. The highest post that an Indian could aspire to was that of a Deputy Collector in the executive,and a Sadr Amin in the Judicial branch of the administration.[5] "...wherever",

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1.Nevill,A Gazeeteer,District Bareilly,p.123.
2.Kaye and Malleson,op.cit,vol.1 ,p.143.
3.Charter Act of 1833, A Collection of the Public General Statues passed in the third and fourth year of the Reign of His Majesty King William the Forth,p.1106.
4.The Oxford History of India,3rd.ed.p.624.
5.Tufail Ahmad Manglori,Musalmanon ka Raushan Mustaqbil,(The Bright Future of Muslims)5th ed.p.81.

says Marshman, "our sovereignty was established in India, the path of honourable ambition and every prospect of fame, wealth, and power was at once closed on the natives of the country... No benefit which we might confer on the country could be deemed an adequate compensation for the loss of all share in the government, one of the highest and most honourable aspiration of humanity"[1].

It was not because they were Muslims that the Muslims, before the Mutiny, were excluded from all higher appointments. It was because they were Indians. Indeed, in the lower grades Muslims took a considerable share of the posts open to Indians, notably in the army and in the judiciary. In the Bengal Native Cavalry, for instance, Muslims recruited from Rohilkhand, Delhi, and the neighbouring areas, formed the majority[2]. The Artillery branch of the Bengal Army was composed of Hindus and Muslims in equal proportions; of 1,030 officers, were 584 Muslims[3]. In the judicial department, because Muslim criminal law was long maintained by the Company, Muslims were appointed in great numbers. And "as they are", wrote Campbell, "the most educated natives, and the most gentlemanly and well-mannered, they have in the first instance been most frequently employed"[4]. Even the banishing of Persian from the Courts and Offices-- so disastrous in its consequences to the Muslims of Bengal--did not affect the Muslims of North India at all. In the North-Western Provinces when Persian was abandoned, Urdu written in the Persian script was made the Court language--and Urdu was the mother tongue of the Muslims of the

1. Marshman, The History of India, vol.3, pp.49-50.
2. Parl.Papers.vol.viii of 1869, Appendix No.72, p.208.
3. Chattapadhya, The Sepoy Mutiny 1857, pp.78-9.
4. Campbell, Modern India, p.292.

North India;besides only they,and such Kayasths as had studied Persian, were capable of writing the shikasta script used in the offices.In the police department also,Muslims held the majority of subordinate jobs. There was no such condition for entry as knowing English or obtaining school certificates until a late period,and so Muslims faced no special difficulties.

These government posts,inferior as they were,were not of course acceptable to all Muslims.There were the dependents of the royal family who would have prefered to die in penury rather than take service under a foreign government.[2] There were respectable Muslims "who were too proud to enter into the Company's army"[3] because it consisted mostly of Tilangas--a low Hindu caste generally looked down upon.There were the Sayyids whose "pride and laziness prevented their personally exerting themselves to retrieve their fortunes".[4] Then there were the proud Pathans, many of whom might not,as Bishop Heber thought,be worth a rupee,but who conceived it to be derogatory to their gentility and Pathan blood to apply themselves to any honest industry.There were religious minded Muslims who would think it unlawful to accept posts in law courts where justice was done according to other than Muslim law.[6] There were some professions which were prohibited to Muslims by their religion, such as banking,which involved usury.There were persons like the poet Ghalib who would not accept Government service because the official rules were derogatory to their sense of self-respect.Lastly,some Muslim groups had

1. Report on Administration N.W.P.1871-2 p.31.
2. Hali,Hayat,vol.I.p.48.
3. Heber,Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, from Calcutta to Bombay,4th.ed.vol.II.p.106.
4. Bourne,op.cit.p.48.
5. Bishop Heber op.cit,I.p.245.
6. Hali,Hayat,Appendix No.3.p.13.

been so influenced by Hindu ideas on caste,as to form hereditary occupational groups; the Shaikhs,for instance "preferred to become pleaders, clerks" etc.[1]

The denial of high office was in itself humiliating to the Muslims But this feeling was strengthened manyfold by the contemptuous attitude adopted by the British authorities towards all Indians, and towards their religion and culture. Indians as a whole were treated as though there were no gentlemen among them. 'Unfortunately', states C.H.Philips of the British 'their attitude even tended to be contemptuous, and in this Wilberforce set the standard: "Our Christian religion ",he told the members of Parliament, "is sublime,pure and beneficent. The Indian religious system is mean,licentious and cruel... It is one grand abomination!". To him Hinduism was meaningless and therefore execrable,and sweeping criticism from this point of view,although it induced the Company to oppose the more obviously irrational and inhuman Indian customs,yet served fundamentally to antagonize the Indian world'[2]

In 1835 Macaulay schornfully dismissed the whole of Indian culture. He wrote in his famous minute:"I have never found one among them [the Orientalists] who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia... It is,I believe,no exaggeration to say that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanskrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltr

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1.Bourne,op.cit.p.47. See Appendix.1.
2.Philips,India,p.68. In 1820s Bishop Heber found the Muslims of North India "a high spirited, a proud and irritable people... not unlikely to draw a sabre against anyone who should offend their prejudices and.... extremely likely to adopt the name of religion as a cockade,if induced by other and less ostensible motives to take up arms against their masters". See The Life of Reginald Heber vol.11,p.263.

abridgements used at preparatory schools in England".[1]

All these things made the proud and dispossed aristocracy sullen and despondent.

As far as the Muslim masses were concerned, they had possessed no political power to be directly affected by this change, Nevertheless they also were disturbed by the economic changes which the new contact with Europe produced, and could not fit themselves to the changed circumstances.

The Muslims in the villages probably consisted in the main of low class Hindus converted to Islam by the efforts and influence of Muslim saints and sufis, and they claimed little respect from their co-religionists in the cities. Neverthelessthey lived as far as was possible under the protection of influential Muslims. "Villages were inhabited wholly or partly by Muhammadans according as the land immediately surrounding the villages was owned wholly or partly, by Muhammadan landowners".[2] Though the whole area of the North-Western Provinces was overwhelmingly agricultural and rural in character--less than one inhabitant in twelve being a town dweller--yet the Muslim masses were seldom connected with agriculture.[3] They were rather Julahas (weavers) Nais (barbers), Bihishtis (Water carriers), Qassais (butchers), Rangreses (dyers), confectioners, cotton-carders, builders, inn-keepers, vegetable-sellers, oil-sellers, etc.[4] The weavers formed by far the most numerous class. Out of a total population of

1. Macaulay, Minute, 2nd Feb. 1835, Selections from Educational Records, part.1.pp.109-1
2. Temple, India in 1880, p.112.
3. Elliot, Memoirs, vol.1, pp.189-192.
4. Report on Administration N.W.P. for 1870-1, p.57, para.24.

six million, the weaving classes-Koris and Julahas numbered one and three-quarter millions.[1] In many places, and specially throughout Oudh, they had their solid blocks and had completely localized the cotton industry in their settlements. In Faizabad "cotton hand-weaving had been localized in a throng of villages. The population of the thriving town of Tonda, for instance, was almost entirely made up of weavers, dyers, and cloth printers".[2] In Sitapur the Julahas formed "22.27 percent of the whole Muslim community, the highest figure in all Oudh".[3] In Pilibhit,[4] Gorakhpur, Moradabad, Azamgarh, Bareilly, and Shahabad the Julahas were numerous. "Usually a particular industry had a particular city for its chief home;.... In each such town the best workmen of that trade assembled and by longg specialisation their skill was perfected. Their productions commanded the whole Indian market. Due to the stability and prosperity of these weaving industries many thriving towns had sprung up in their vicinity. Some of them were of local importance such as Laharpur in Sitapur district and Derhwas in Partabgarh; whereas some acquired the position of great centres of export and import as Agra, Lucknow and Ghazipur. As all the cotton used for cloth manufactured was spun at home, spinning too had become a profession, and was mostly done by women. The result was that the economic condition of the weaver was generally very good.. But as these places came under the influence,

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1. Crooke, The North-Western Provinces of India: Their History, Ethnology and Administration, p.207.
2. Morison, The Economic Transition in India, p.139.
3. Nevill, A Gazetteer, Sitapur, vol.xl, p.57.
4. Nevill, A Gazetteer, Pilibhit District, vol.xvlll.p.94.

direct or indirect,of the Company,they began to decline. While the cotton industry suffered by the competition of the machine-made cloth of Manchester,the luxury goods industry suffered from the disturbed times which had ruined so many of the princes and landed aristocracy. India ceased to export manufactured cotton goods to Europe early in the nineteenth century[1]; and by the end of the same century hand-spinning of cotton had practically ceased and hand-weaving was depressed.[2] Mostly the weavers were driven to the fields,though some clung to their ancestral calling. As husbandmen they achieved fair success,being remarkably careful and industrious in their tillage,yet as a class they were much harrassed. There was no room for displaced weavers in other industries,because they too were completely overwhelmed by the competition of Europe. Thus the oil pressers and sellers suffered by the increasing importation of kerosene oil.[3] The industry of paper making,conducted at places such as Kara(Allahabad),was extinguished by the establishment of the paper factories at Serampur.[4] The city industries which were directly due to royal patronage,such as the embroidery of Allahabad,and the enamelling of Delhi and Lucknow,were depressed on account of the ruin of the kings,chiefs and landed aristocracy.[5] Some Indian industries had been peculiarly Muslim,such as book-binding,paper-making,fine steel work and damascening. Most of them decayed.[6]

There were no factories to absorb these displaced workers.[7] Con-

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1.Anstey,The Economic Development of India,3rd.ed.p.208.
2.ibid.pp.208-9.
3.Crooke,op.cit.p.209.
4.Nevill,A Gazetteer,Allahabad,vol.VIII.part.2.p.116.
5.Sarkar,Economics of British India,p.24.
6.ibid.p.25.
7.Even in 1897 Crooke had to write:"As to new outlets and fresh industries, the prospect is not encouraging". Crooke,op.cit.p.325.

sequently great distress and discontent prevailed in the whole class of weavers; and deep hatred towards the English Government rankled in their hearts,so much so that organized revolts against the British Government began to take place. Besides local and insignificant revolts,one, led by Maulvi Mufti Iwaz,was quite vigorous. This mufti, " a man of great age and reputed sanctity"[1] with a force of some 5,000 men rose against the Government on the imposition of a house-tax in Bareilly in 1814.[2] Though he retreated ultimately his rebellion shows, nevertheless,that there were few Muslims of North India who escaped the depression which followed the expansion of British rule. But the destruction was at different stages in different classes. If the king of Delhi,one source of favour,was feeling the pangs of poverty, the presence of a king of Oudh,until 1856,was a great boon to them. The Mu'afidars and high officials were depressed by the resumption proceedings,but as a community,Muslims had not lost their hold completely.[3] In subordinate positions they held the majority of the Government posts,and had considerable influence in the administration of the country. Muslim criminal law was not finally abolished until 1864,and for Government service there was no such condition as a knowledge of English. Peace and order had done much to establish security of life and property after a long period of chaos,and this too,was greatly appreciated.

By 1857 the highest ranks in Muslim society had suffered,and the working classes,the artisans,perhaps even more so. That much was apparent in the record of support given to the Wahabis by the weavers, or was to be apparent in the behaviour of the aristocracy during the Mutiny.But

1.Nevill,A Gazetteer,Bareilly,p.167. (2) ibid.p.167.
3.Heber,op.cit.,4th ed.p.417.

there was a growing middle class. The gap created by the decay of many ancient families was being filled by people sucha as shop-keepers, burkundaz and the holders of small public offices. As early as 1825, Bishop Heber found this gap "more than filled up ...Wealth was becoming more abundant among the middling ranks and that such of them as are rich are not afraid of appearing so".[1] These people though inferior in status were neither void of intellectual capabilities nor of other human virtues. Rather they promised, with an education, to be the most capable class of adapting themselves to the new requirements. In 1852, Sir George Campbell, Collector at Badaon, Rohilcund, made the following striking remarks about this class. "... there does not exist that difference of tone between the higher and lower classes--- the distincion in fact of a gentleman. The lower classes are to the full as good and intelligent as with us; indeed, they are much more versed in the affairs of life, plead their causes better, make more intelligent witnesses, and have many virtues.....The lowest of the people, if fate raise him to be an emperor, makes himself quite at home in his new situation, and shows an aptitude of manner and conduct unknown to Europeans similarly situated;...the impossibility of adapting to anything useful most of the higher classes found by us, and for all fresh requirements it is necessay to create a fresh class. From the acuteness and aptness to learn of the inferior classes, this

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1. Heber, Narrative, vol.1.p.417.4th.ed.

Creation of the middle class people should be discussed

can be done as is done in no other country"[1]. As a matter of fact it was being done automatically and it was from these ranks that those interested in British culture as well as British order and prosperity were to emerge.

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1. Campbell, Modern India: A Sketch of the System of Civil Government. p.62., 2nd.ed.

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Cultural Stagnation

In order to understand the nature and scope of Sir Syed's educational movement,it is necessary to make a survey of the religious and social condition of the Muslims in Upper India and specially of the Muslim upper class of his times. For it was,in the main, the religious and social features of this class that Sir Syed selected for attack in his magazine and other writings. It was,again,from the religious and conservative landowing classes of the Muslim society that his movement met the most formidable opposition.

The Indian Muslims in the early half of the nineteenth century were very religious minded. They loved to trace everything back to religion. Religion was their "life,history,character,patriotism--in fact everything... Religion was the basis of all actions and the vital point upon which everything turned".[1] The religious principles in which they believed and which had a predominant influence on their social life were regarded by them as perfect,and superior to all other religious beliefs. The fundamental principles of life were provided in the Quran,and in these principles no alteration was possible. A detailed code of social life,modelled upon the life of the Prophet,was handed down from generation to generation in the form

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1.Vambery,Western Culture in Eastern Lands,p.236.

of Hadith or Traditions[1] to follow which was considered meritorious. Quite apart from the 'Ulama,[2] who formed the specifically religious class in Islamic society, the common man in Upper India "held with more or less orthodoxy the tenets of their faith".[3] Extreme religiousness was highly approved of by society. In the early half of the nineteenth century, a time for Muslims of general secular decline, the general impulse was to stick firmly to religion: if this world were lost, eternal happiness could still be gained in the next. "It was the last period of Muslim imperial authority, and Muslims, could hope for rewards in the other world which Islam promised but had no hope left for them in this. Therefore they grew firmer in their religious beliefs Particularly among distinguished and noble families, much importance was attached to religious duties and to religious things. The Khanqahs (monasteries) of Shah Ghulam 'Ali and Shah 'Abd ul 'Aziz were the centres of religious Muslims in that time".[4] For the rich and gay young Muslims there were still ample opportunities for enjoyment and

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1. Hadith, things said(Qaul), done(Fi'l) or tolerated (Taqrir) by the Prophet.
2. 'Ulama, pl. of 'Alim. One who knows; learned; a scholar. In 1885 a lexicographer, T.P.Hughes, explained the term as follows:" In this plural form the word is used as the title of those bodies of learned doctors in Muhammadan divinity and law, who, headed by their Shaikhu'l Islam, form the theocratic element of the government in Muslim countries, and who by their fatwas or decisions in questions touching private and public matters of importance, regulate the life of Muhammadan community. Foremost in influence and authority are naturally reckoned the 'Ulama' of Constantinople, the seat of the Khalifah, and of Makkah, the Holy City of Islam. Like the Aṣḥāb or Companions of the Prophet under his immediate successors, they correspond in a certain measure to what we would call the representative system of our modern constitution, in partially limiting and checking the autocratism of an otherwise absolute Oriental ruler". A Dictionary of Islam, p.650.
3. Strachey, India: Its Administration and Progress, p.305, 3rd.ed.
4. H. Hali, Hayat, vol.2.p.17.

they did not always abstain. But religion had a strong hold even on them. They could not forget that their way of living was not approved of by society and whenever they cared to reform themselves religion indicated the way.

Within society, the body of 'Ulama was there to "maintain the Islamic Community united and homogenous in its structure and principles".[I] Their power as interpreters of Islam had grown, as men allowed to them an almost exclusive right to pronounce what was the agreed position of the Muslim community. In the early centuries of Islam one important work of the 'Ulama had been to study the Quran and Hadith and to interpret them in the context of changing circumstances and emergencies for the benefit of all Muslims. But by the time Islam reached India the early flexibility in face of change had been largely lost, and a development had taken place which tended to strengthen rigidity and conservatism in Islam. This development was the practice of Taqlid, or reliance on ancient authorities in interpreting the Shari'a. Such a tendency was, of course, readily fostered by Muslim rulers who saw in Taqlid a barrier against dispute and disunity. Gradually it became the accepted view that the ordinary and the learned Muslim alike were no longer capable of making any valid new interpretation of the Quran or the Hadith. "A Muslim", wrote Maulvi Wajih ud Din supporting his statement with many authorities on Muslim Law," is bound to accept one of the four schools-Maliki, Hanafi, Shafa'i

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I. Gibb and Bowen, Islamic Society and the West, vol.I.pt.ii.p.81.

and Hanbali. No one should go against them or form a separate school or follow a fifth school. This can be proved from Muslim us Subut[1], by a Fatwa of the 'Ulama of Mecca and Medina, and by the Fatwa of Maulana Muhammad Ishaq and Maulana Abd ul 'Aziz and Shaikh 'Abd ul Haq of Delhi[2]". The view held by the famous Maulvi 'Abd ul Haq of Delhi was that "the people of this age do not possess the capability necessary to research and distinguish between Nasikh and Mansukh[3], to distinguish right from wrong, to interprete the Hadith i Mujmal (abstract Tradition), and to prefer one Hadith to another if there exists any contradiction between the two[4]". Therefore the verdict of the 'Ulama was that "though the heads of the four accepted schools always insisted that Hadith should be preferred to their interpretations, yet as their interpretations were derived from Hadith and Quran they also command the status of the Order of God and His Prophet, and therefore there is no sense in neglecting them[5]".

The 'Ulama's acceptance of the restrictions of Taqlid made them unable to fulfill their original function of guiding the Muslims in a novel situation by reinterpreting the teachings of religion. Or rather it made any change very slow and difficult. Old institutions, such as polygamy or slavery, might lose their utility and become anomalous in a

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1. A standard book on the principles of Muslim Law by Maulvi Muhibb-ulla of Bihar.
2. Wajih ud Din, Nizam i Islam (The System of Islam), p.65.
3. The doctrine of Nasikh and Mansukh, no longer held to be orthodox, was that certain verses of the Quran being in contradiction one to anothe some were cancelled out (mansukh) by those which contradicted them (nasikh).
4. Shaikh 'Abd ul Haq, Safr us Sadr, p.28, quoted in Nizam i Islam, p.69.
5. Wajih ud Din, op. cit. p.66.

new age,--but they could not be modified far or fast enough.[1] Nor could innovation and novel ideas find easy acceptance--that might come under the heading of Bida'.[2] Their service in India was thus a negative one, to maintain a uniform social life for their people and to preserve the religious and ethical traditions handed down to them by their predecessors. Such a service was of very great importance, and their success is striking when the absorptive capacity of Hindu philosophy and culture is called to mind. But it was a defensive measure only, and led all too easily to stagnation and narrow-minded bigotry. The 'Ulema jealously excluded all innovations in the law of the Shari'a as expounded by the early doctors of Islam, and made a whole-hearted effort, at the expense of liberty of thought, to justify such early expositions. The fact that the 'Ulama controlled education explains the narrow and limited course of study in indigenous schools, as will be seen later, and the hold they had upon the mind of the community.

Emphasis upon tradition, upon Taqlid, had the effect, then, of imposing upon generation after generation of Indian Muslims the social morality of Islamic society in the Near East as laid down under the first four

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1. Watt, The Muslim World, Forces Now Moulding Islam. p.169.
2. Bida'--a term denoting novelty on innovation. Theologically the study of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of Bida' became very important, because innovation might extend from individual dissent to heresy, if not to actual unbelief. See the Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1913, vol.2, pp.71 713.

Imams in Muslim Canon Law. But it also had the effect of breeding a self-complacency which ignored or despised other religions and cultures. The 'Ulama were at once largely ignorant of the tenets of Christianity and scornful of the culture built upon it.[1] In the presence of the Quran, in which the eternal message of God was preserved with the utmost correctness, they took it to be "superfluous--nay, even sinful--to concern themselves about the affairs of Western lands, or to take any interest in their progressive measures!"[2] The Muslim 'Ulama, therefore, considered Western culture abominable, and hated the manners of the West. They did not even like to shake hands with Christians, to eat in their company, or indeed to accept any thing cooked or offered by them. Maulvi Nazir Ahmad, a student of the Oriental Department of the Delhi College, has given some striking illustrations of this attitude. Thus he relates how a high British official visiting the Delhi College, to show his respect to the Head Maulvi, shook hands with him. The Maulvi could not refuse the proffered handshake, but after it he kept his hand aloof as though polluted and after the officer's departure washed it with great exaggeration several times. The same Head Maulvi used also to break the eartha

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1. Manazir Ahsan Gilani, Musalmanon ka Nizam i Ta'lim (The Educational System of the Muslims), p.280.
2. Vambery, op.cit. p.307.

pots in which drinking water was kept if any student reading in the English department happened to take water from them.[1] The result of such attitudes was that no social relations were considered possible with the British, and in the absence of any particular effort from either side both peoples remained poles apart from each other.

The religious activities of Christian missionaries had no less a part in increasing religious antagonism between the two peoples. Ever since 1813, when a Parliamentary clause[2] had legalised the missionary activities in India, there had been an increasing influx of zealous missionaries.[2] Soon missionary centres were established throughout India. In North India one centre was established at Agra in 1813, another at Ludhiyana in 1834, yet others at Saharanpur and Allahabad in 1836 one at Fatehgarh in 1838, and still another in Mainpuri in 1843.[3] The missionaries freely used both the press and the platform for their purpose, and in doing so often chose publicly to condemn the religious beliefs of Hindus and Muslims. The Maulvis at first failed to refute the challenge of Christian missionaries because they did not know much about Christianity. But soon some of them recognized their shortcoming. Thus a certain physician Niyaz Khan of Calcutta journeyed to England, learned the English language and brought home much literature on Christianity. After his return to India he began to work at Lucknow and came in touch with a famous Maulvi Karamat 'Ali. It was in 1854 at Agra that Maulvi Karamat 'Ali and Niyaz Ahmad Khan accepted the challenge

1. Nazir Ahmad, Ibn ul Waqt (the Time Server) p.1; One Christian writer as late as 1916 could still write: "....the Sunnis of India, following the Shiahs, regard Christians as unclean ceremonially and contact with them and eating their food as an abomination". Samuel Graham Wilson, Modern Movements Among Moslems, p.44.
2. Richter, A History of Missions in India, p.151.
3. Nurullah and Naik, A History of Education in India, p.196.

of the famous missionary Pfander.At a public meeting, attended by senior English officials as well as respectable Hindus and Muslims a discussion between the two parties took place.Manazir Ahsin Gilani describes how,before thousands of onlookers,the missionary Pfander was defeated on the very first point discussed--that of alterations in the Bible.[1] If such occasions at least brought the two sides together it often served only to make them part in acrimony.

If among the orthodox the acceptance of Taqlid had led to withdrawal and stagnation,only stirred occasionally by missionary attack, among the less orthodox,the Sufis,many doctrines tended towards resignation and a flight from the world.

In its earliest form Sufism had been ascetic and its devotees had withdrawn into mystical contemplation from a world in which Muslim rulers were forced to be more devoted to ruling than to Islam."Its later development was pantheistic and speculative rather than ascetic in character".[2] Nevertheless,as Iqbal has argued,the unrestrained speculation of later Sufism,which attracted so many of the best Muslim minds, was often attached,socially,to a total other-worldliness.[3] Again the disbelief in free will which was a feature of some Sufi thought tended to produce a fatalist resignation.[4] As Sufism had become very

1. Manazir Ahsan Gilani,op.cit.vol.I.p.281.fn.The Missionary Pfander wrote many books condemning Islam and its Prophet.Muslims in reply found fault with Christianity and the Bible.Thus one Muhammad Abu'l Mansur wrote three books,Mizan ul Mizan(Delhi 1878)Sabil i Najat, (Delhi 1878)and Misbah ul Anwar(Delhi,1878)in reply to Pfander's Mizan ul Haq,Tariqa i Hayat,and Miftah ul Asrar respectively.
2. Zwemer,Islam,A Challenge to Faith,p.142.
3. ibid.p.143.
4. Iqbal,The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam,p.143.

popular in the early half of the nineteenth century, this fatalism had attained a place in Muslim beliefs. Iqbal argues that this was due "partly to philosophical thought, partly to political expediency, and partly to the gradual diminishing force of the life-impulse, which Islam originally imparted to its followers".[1] In the early half of the nineteenth century it had been justified from the Quran "even though at the expense of its plain meaning"[2] and thus fortified, it had barred any activity which would have raised the Muslims from deterioration and poverty.

In popular Islam in India, partly through contact with popular Hinduism belief in the efficacy of charms and amulets had grown up, even in so-called orthodox families. Likewise the cult of saints or of their shrines had become a common feature.[3] The element of supernaturalism thus was greatly strengthened, and an unquestioning acceptance of irrational, self-contradictory beliefs became an admired and accepted attitude in Muslims.

Islam in India, then, had become a stagnant religion, of limited outlook. Since Muslim society was so closely based on religion in its general structure, that society, too, had become limited and conservative. This was the more true because that society had for so long been a ruling and victorious one, to which Indian Muslims naturally looked back with pride.[4] These two tendencies were prominent in the early half of the nineteenth century, in every aspect of the Indian Muslims' social life.

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1. Iqbal, op.cit. p.104.
2. Ibid. p.105.
3. Hali, Hayat, vol.II. p.9.
4. See Vambery, op.cit. p.284.

The increasing emphasis on the framework of religion expressed itself in attaching a sort of a religious importance to social manners, ways of living and dressing. Any change in these was considered an attempt to alter Islam itself. The faithfulness of the 'Ulama and orthodox Muslims to the heritage of Islam was so great, and their conviction in the divine origin of its institutions so intense, that "to depart from even the least of its prescription means a rejection of some particle of divine grace".[1] In respectable families the style of living and dressing, once formed, was never changed. The slightest modification in these things was enough to provoke criticism and to bring ridicule. Hali tells an annecdote, illustrative of this love of the old ways--Waza'-dari--, about an elderly, god-fearing inhabitant of Delhi who only prayed four times a day. Asked why he omitted the fifth prayer, the evening prayer, he confessed that it was because that would have involved an innovation in his usual way of living. He explained that in his boyhood he used to go to bed early and missed his evening prayer. In his youth he was careless in prayer. Now in his old age he would love to pray in the evening too, but was ashamed to start a new thing, even if it were a prayer.[2]

In their reduced condition the nobles and upper classes particularly sought to maintain their style. C.F.Andrews describes those of old Delhi: "Bright coloured clothes were the fashion, and the nobles especially rivalled one another in their splendid costumes... The horses on which the nobles rode through the streets of the city, had

1.Gibb, Whither Islam, p.54.
2.Hali, Hayat, vol. II p. 385.

gorgeous trappings,and there were frequent cavalcades with tinkling bells and equipage"...The nobles of the city,who were attached to the royal court,"kept stately bullock carriages,richly caparisoned,in which they went from place to place accompanied by much jolting."[1]

Waza'dari likewise dictated the spending of immense amounts of money on weddings,festivals and sport[2] to keep the family traditions alive. To spend too much on all these occasions was a sign of dignity, even if it sometimes involved selling the only remaining property or borrowing at high rates of interest,which normally brought ruin to the whole family.[3]

Besides this false conception of style and of traditional customs, the people of Delhi generally tended to live an easy life. The rich were becoming more and more luxurious. Some thirty-three fairs used to take place periodically in various parts of Delhi district,and were very favourite resorts for the people. Some of these fairs had an athletic motive and were held regularly at short intervals,such as the fair "Jahan Numa" which was held every Friday for wrestling. "City people used to turn out every Friday in good number,some three thousand ands to see it".[4] Some had religious significance either to Hindus or Muslims. Besides these fairs in which each and every one used to participate, there used to be arranged private musical parties. Parties for kite-flying and swimming also were frequently arranged in season. And thus the whole year people were in holiday mood.

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1. Andrews, Zaka Ullah of Delhi,p.6.
2. ibid.pp.5,14.(Andrews describes the great sums staked on cock-fights within the palace).
3. Shifa'at Ahmad Khan,"Hindu Moslem Relations",Asiatic Review,Oct.1927.
4. Delhi Gazetteer,1880,p.57.

Strangely enough, the narrow-mindedness of the Indian Muslims, prevalent everywhere, did not bring any such antagonism to their Hindu neighbours as they showed against the British. "One important fact of the old social life", says Andrews "was the friendliness of its two communitees, Hindus and Muslims".[1] Both Hindus and Muslims had taken many customs from each other[2] and "something like a common culture was in process of evolution".[3] Hindus and Muslims of equal status had very friendly relations.[4] Andrews gives details, in his life of Zaka ullah, of how Hindus and Muslims used to join in one another's sorrows and rejoicings, and of the respect they showed towards each others religion and traditions. Both Hindus and Muslims used to learn Persian and cultivate poetry. There are evidences to show that some Hindu castes such as the Kayasths regularly used to patronise Persian schools rather than Hindi schools. By the mid-nineteenth century, indeed, the common culture was already of such long standing as to have acquired the sanction of tradition.

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1. Andrews, op.cit. p.11.
2. See a booklet The Customs of Delhi Mahommedans by Sayyid Ahmad of Delhi p.1. "Almost all the customs prevalent amongst the Mahommedan women, and because of them, amongst the men also, are Hindu customs".
3. Griffiths, The British Impact on India, p.239.
4. The Hindu caste system had affected the Muslims considerably. "The Sayids of India are as strict to maintain the purity of their blood as the Brahmans and excluded intermarriage with other Moslims". Wilson, Modern Movements among Moslems. p.45.

For the British, however, newcomers, with no common cultural heritage, the Muslims could feel no such sympathy. Upper-class Muslims always lived a secluded, or self-contained life, and into this few Englishmen penetrated. The infiltration of new cultural elements was accordingly slow.

In time, however, the new forces began to endanger the old culture itself. The reaction among Muslims took two forms. On the one hand there was hostility and rejection. This movement was a continuation of older movements, designed to keep Islam unsullied by its contacts with other cultures, those of Shah Wali ullah or of the Wahabis.[1] But, on the other hand, there emerged a comparatively small but receptive class, interested in the new culture and prepared to take from it.

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1. Shah Wali ullah, the famous Muhaddis of Delhi, set the reform movement afoot by writing his Hujjat ul Baligha (1735) and translating the Quran into Persian (1737). His sons Shah Rafi'ud Din (1749-1818) and Shah 'Abd ul Qadir (1753-1815) carried his work further by translating the Quran into Urdu. 'Abd ul Qadir's translation was published in 1829 in Delhi. Access to the sources of Islam profoundly affected the ordinary people. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, Shah Ismai'l the son-in-law, and Shah 'Abd ul Hayi the nephew of Shah 'Abd ul 'Aziz the Muhaddis, recognized Sayyid Ahmad of Rai Barielly the "Wahabi" leader as their spiritual guide and fully supported the movement. When Sayyid Ahmad turned to political action in the Punjab both 'Abd ul 'Aziz and 'Abd ul Hayi gave Fatwas (religious decrees) that India was no longer a land of Islam but Dar ul Harb, and that it was the duty of every Muslim to expel the infidel rulers.

(III)
Educational Decline

The Indian Muslims of the nineteenth century had an educational system of their own which had served them for centuries. Any attempt to explain that system in detail would be impossible here; many voluminous books[I] have been written on the subject and there is still room for others to work. But it is necessary here to show that educational system failed to provide for change in Muslim circumstances, and by its rigidity contributed to their political and general downfall. It was not that Muslims had no taste for learning, or did not attain a considerable standard in their own learning. On the contrary, they took the utmost pride in intellectual pursuits. Muslim rulers and aristocrats used to patronize art and culture and "even where the interest was not genuine the enlightened pursuits were followed and encouraged as a dogma dictated by fashion". Extensive lands free from revenue were awarded to 'Ulama, poets and even to skilled artisans. To rewards in money, land and position at court, was added the public esteem allotted to the learned or the skilled.

Nor were secular benefits the only reasons why learning was cultivated. Education had a religious significance, and the poorest Muslim

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I. For instance, Musalmanon ka Nizam i Ta'lim (The Educational System of the Muslims) in two volumes, covering some seven hundred pages, by Manazir Ahsan Gilani, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1944; Hindustan ki Islami Darsgahen (Muslim Schools in India) by Abu'l Hasanat Nadwi, Dar ul Musaniffin 'Azamgarh, covering four hundred pages, etc.

was desirous that his child should read at least once the Holy Quran.[1] "In India", wrote J.D.Cunningham, in 1850, "there is no want of a desire to obtain knowledge. An acquaintance with reading, writing and arithmetic, is necessary to the business of life in a country almost as civilized perhaps, as Spain or Greece, and literary and scientific acquirements likewise give honour and distinction among Hindoos and Mahometans as well as Europeans....The estimation in which a learned moolla or pundit is held is notorious, the extent to which a Mahomedan gentleman is familiar with Arabian law and Persian poetry, is equally well-known, a Hindoo of any acquirements is immediately greeted with the honorary title of "Shastree""Sidhantee" etc. and among the better classes of either creed the saying is common that knowledge is the tumgha of "Shirafut" or indeed of "insaneeut", [that is] the symbol of gentility, or even of humanity".[2]

In such an environment genius had flowered. The Indian scholar had possessed a high standard of learning. Sleeman's opinion was that "A Mohamedan gentleman of education is tolerably well acquainted with astronomy as it was taught by Ptolemy, with the logic and ethic of Aristotle and Plato, with the works of Hippocrates and Galen through those of Avicenna,...and he is very capable of talking upon all subjects of philosophy, literature, science and the arts, and very much

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1. The Arabic language was not always understood--but in reading the Quran, Muslims were assisted by their knowledge of the Persian script.
2. Cunningham, "Education in India" Jan.2,1850, quoted in Appendix . General Report on Public Instruction in the N.W.P. for 1850-51.

inclined to do so,and of understanding the nature of the improvements that have been made in them in modern times".[1]

Indeed even in the early half of the nineteenth century,a period of Muslim decline, in Delhi at least there were numerous specialists in literature,law,religion,mathematics,etc. The Mughal Court,true to its traditions,not only patronized the arts and sciences, but actually had become an intellectual centre.[2]

In the capital and petty cities where Muslims mostly resided,there was no lack of places of instruction. There were generally three kinds of schools:Maktabs,or Quran schools for primary education, Persian schools for secondary education,and Madrassas for higher studies. In the Quran schools or at home, education started with the formal reading of the Quran. The schools were not separate buildings designed for education,but were such places,as mosques or private houses, where teacher and children met. The teachers were people of limited knowledge and were free from any government control. The Visitor General of the North-Western Provinces described the Maktabs as "notoriously incapable of fulfilling the proper mission of a school".[4]

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1. Sleeman,op.cit.vol.11.pp.52-3; Much later in 1887 Sir Walter Raleigh wrote:"It is impossible,if you keep your eyes open among these people and get to know them well,to retain much of the hallucination of superiority or the flatulence of knowledge".Letter to his mother dated March 15,1887,The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh, 1879-1922,vol.1,p.107.
2. Spear,Delhi, A Historical Sketch,p.79.
3. Shibli,Maqalat i Shibli,(Essays of Shibli),part 3,p.103;
4. Reid, Report on the State Popular Education in the N.W.P. for 1856-7 and 57-8.,p.41.

More important were the Persian schools,usually found in the larger towns only.[1] The study of the Quran was common in these schools too,though schools were not uncommon in which Persian was taught exclusively.[2] Persian grammar was the first subject taught,and then followed a grammatical,literary and general philogical study of some works such as the Gulistan of Sa'di,with perhaps a work on rhetoric, theology and medicine also.[3] Of this instruction John Muir[4] wrote : "The object of the Persian instruction above described appears to be generally to qualify the scholars to transact the ordinary affairs of life and to give to their minds that degree and species of cultivation which the standard of society around them prescribes".[5] Of the schools of this type Griffith,the Officiating Director of Public Instruction wrote : "In these schools there is no mental training, nothing in fact which can be called education. Regularity,order,method are neglected. The children come and go when it suits their convenience. Each receives his separate lesson. The eye learns to recognize,and the hand to form,the Persian character. Words were then committed to memory,and this is nearly all the instruction that the teacher wishes to impart or the pupil to receive".[6]

However imperfect and disinclined to accept Government supervision

1. Thornton,Memoirs on Indigenous Education within the North-Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency,p.49.
2. ibid.pp.27,35.
3. Thomas,The History of Progress of British Education in India,pp.10-11.
4. Brother of Sir Willian Muir and Orientalist;Principal of Queens College Benares in 1844;Judge at Fatehpur in 1845;died in 1882.
5. J.Muir,quoted by Reid in the Report on Indigenous Education and Vernacular schools,for 1850-51.pp.44-5.
6. Griffith, D.P.I,N.W.P. to the Govt.of N.W.P.No.1295,dated,August,30, 1871,Selections from the Records of the Government of India,Home Dept. Serial No.2.(No.CCV).P.192.

these schools were, they served the purpose they were established for, and formed the majority of all kinds of schools. In 1845 the Agra Government called for statistical information about the indigenous schools in the North-Western Provinces. The returns are far from correct as the investigations aroused incredible suspicion.[1] But however incomplete they do give some picture of the existing

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1. The general reaction of the people at different villages has thus been summed up in the Education Commission Report by North-Western Provinces and Oudh Provincial Committee : " And this beginning was the most difficult part of the task, for suspicion of our motives was quickly aroused, suspicion all the stronger that the interference of Government, came home so closely to the people. If not orginated, it was certainly fostered "by designing men whose means of livelihood would decrease pari passu with the increase of intelligence". And it took the most wondrous forms. Here it was imagined that the inquiries made foreshadowed a capitation tax. There, that the Educational Officers were agents of the missionaries. In districts through which the Ganges Canal was being carried, the belief arose that "on the completion of the great work, the children would be torn from the schools and offered up as a propitiatory sacrifice to appease the offended deity, the sacred but violated stream". Fatehpur saw visions of missionaries wielding unholy powers: malignant Prosperos going about "to stretch a magic wand over the heads of the children, who, smitten with witchcraft, would follow the foreign enchanter, desert their own houses, and become Christians". Etawah dreamed dreams of priestly tempers, gifted beings, whose powers of fascination particularly for children were so extraordinary, that "the unfortunates upon whom their baneful gaze alighted became immediately spell-bound, and held by a sort of magic attraction which nothing could dispel". To some marvellous hypothesis or other the people found it necessary to resort for explanation of an interest in their well-being which seemed beyond belief; and the only doubt they felt was as to the particular form of the impending evil".' Education Commission, Report by the N.W.P. and Oudh Provincial Committee, pp.13-4. (1883)

educational conditions. In Delhi, the centre of Muslim rule and culture, there were 268 Persian schools.[1] "Of these schools, 242 were situated in the city and only 26 outside".[2] In 160 schools only Muslims were taught, in 43 both Hindus and Muslims, and in the rest only Hindus. In Moradabad district there were 248 schools in which 1,710 children were reading. Out of these 1,058 were Muslim children. In Ghazipur there were 160 schools in which there were 969 students. In Benares, a centre of Hindu religion and culture, there were 127 schools, in which 215 Muslim children were reading. In Aligarh there were 159 schools in which 670 Muslim students were reading.[3]

Arabic schools for higher studies, were, however, fast vanishing.[4] Some ramnants were still to be found in certain places which had been seats of learning for centuries. But two schools only, one in Bareilly and the other in Pilibhit, were found in which Arabic was accurately taught. "Both the teachers of these were highly reputed for learning, and taught without payment".[5] Others were found in Moradabad, Lucknow and Khairabad.[6] The curricula of these Arabic schools, often called Madrassas, consisted of a variety of subjects. Ethics, divinity, astronomy, the art of administration, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, philosophy, rhetoric, law and ritual.[7] But generally they specialised. "There were, in the nineteenth century, three centres of education in India, Delhi, Lucknow and Khairabad. The curricula of these schools, though

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1. Thornton, op.cit. p.25.
2. ibid.
3. The other information elicited is tabulated in appendix (ii).
4. Reid, op.cit. p.40.
5. Thornton, op.cit. p.43.
6. Mahbub Rizwi, Tarikh i Deoband (History of Deoband), p.104.
7. Thomas, The History and Prospects of British Education in India, pp.10-11.

common to a certain extent,varied greatly from one another. In Delhi, much attention was paid to Hadith and Tafsir,in Lucknow to Fiqh,and in Khairabad to philosophy and logic".[1]

There was,it can be seen, a system of schools for Muslims in existence all over Northern India. But, largely because of the very closeness of the links between education and religion,the schools often failed to be real centres of learning. It was not only that some schools,including nearly all Maktabs,taught nothing but what was needed for a Muslim's religious observances,but even in the better schools with a wider curriculum, subjects were taught only from a religious point of view,and in so far as they supported Islamic beliefs. For example,during the Abbasid period,Greek philosophy and science had been made to harmonize Greek thought with the teaching of the Quran. Whatever rationalist schools sprang up as a consequence of the study of Greek philosophy were soon suppressed by the reactionary movements in favour of theological speculation as opposed to material philosophy. Hereafter the study of other sciences and philosophy became subservient to divinity. With this very feeling all books were composed, and with this very object in view education in Eastern sciences was established. The establishment of the principle of Taqlid served only to narrow the scope for freshness of thought.

1.Mahbub Rizwi,op.cit.p.104.

" The sons of the Muhammadan gentlemen begin their instruction with Arabic grammar, the examples in which, in illustration of the grammatical rules, are mostly from the Qoran and the Hadis. This facilitates their reading the Qoran and theology afterwards; then they are taught logic-- with a view to qualify them better to define and argue with logical acumen, that they may be able to comprehend the principles of religion as deducible from the Qoran and Hadis, and also to understand the Muhammadan law and its jurisprudence. After this comes that portion of scholastic theology which contains the tenets of Muhammadanism with an introduction to Greek philosophy. Having gone so far, the student is made to learn such books as contain the most abstruse doctrines, with nicest distinctions and greatest subtleties of the Grecian philosophy, where they controvert the Muhammadan tenets with which scholastic theology grapples in defence. And it is this medley which we are taught in the East under the name of philosophy. After this we are taught the science of jurisprudence as it is called -- a science which unites the principles of logic with those of scholastic theology. Then comes the Muhammadan law, some treatises on which give the law only, and others in addition to this show that their conclusions and inferences are arrived at on both rational and traditional grounds. All this time the instruction in rhetoric is also going on, which will soon be of use; for last of all they teach the Qoran and Hadis and their commentaries ...." [1] The different stages were

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1. Sir Syed, "The Allahabad University and an Oriental Faculty", Proceedings N.W.P., Edu. Dept., Sept. 1887, Progs.No.28. Serial No.3.p.86.

so linked to each other that none could be separated and taught by itself.

Consequently the progress of intellectual development was restricted to certain traditional lines and when the British reached India with modern philosophy and sciences the Muslims still were holding close to their breasts the obsolete learning of Baghdad in the ninth and tenth centuries. Since they had cloaked those ancient sciences and traditional philosophy with religious sanctity,Muslims were necessarily alarmed by the challenge of Western science and reacted by condemning it.

The one escape valwe for the mind which the Muslims had left themselves was in the realm of art, poetry,painting and music--with poetry the most favoured--were popular and often free of religious feeling. "Poetry",writes Andrews,"was the one absorbing fascination for the high-born nobles,who formed a literary coterie round the Emperor and joined in his artistic pursuits. They vied with one another in their verses on every public occasion. Contests were held; the most highly-praised poems were recited;prizes were awarded. The whole city was interested in these recitals to an extraordinary extent,and the fame of the prize-winners went abroad. Most of the nobles of the imperial court took part in these poetic contests.Each of them had his own literary title by which he was famous.The Emperor him-

self would often take part; for he prided himself more on being a poet than on being a king".[1]

Yet even poetry, which it can be argued was one of the intellectual pursuits least tied in Mughal India to the purposes of religion, was subject to many of the limitations which restricted learning. Poetry no less than philosophy suffered from the doctrine of Taqlid; merit lay in copying the style and subject of th great, accepted poets of the past. Liberty of thought, even in the field of poetry, was not granted.[2]

It would be wrong, however, when admitting the signs of stagnation and the limitations upon thought in Indian Muslim learning, to leave an impression of total decay. Both the Mughal court at Delhi and the Nawab's court at Lucknow were lively centres of traditional arts and literature before the Mutiny, and in the development of Urdu there was freshness and novelty. A modern writer points out that "the rise of Urdu poetry in Northern India took place in the latter 18th and early 19th centuries and coincided with the decay of the feudal order".[3] With the establishment of the Delhi College in 1827, which had both English and Oriental departments, the new learning began to permeate into Delhi. "Curiously enough", states Spear, "the people of Delhi were influenced more by English ideas than by English customs. There was more contact of thought than of persons. The medium for this was the Delhi College, in its Oriental even more than in its English Department".[4]

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1. Andrews, op.cit., p.14.
2. 'Abd ul Latif, The Influence of English Literature on Urdu Literature pp.18-9.
3. Ihtisham Husain, "Urdu Literature and the Revolt", Rebellion 1857, p.236.
4. Spear, The Twilight of the Mughals, p.144.

The new life in Mughal culture was,however,not destined to come to maturity. The Mutiny swept away old and new together. But perhaps even without that destructive episode the administrative and educational policies of the Company would,more slowly,have done no less.

In the earlier years it is true that the British,to create a good impression "studiously avoided the imputation of interfering with the principles or prejudices of the natives".[1] Patronage was extended to Oriental learning--if only because the Arabic and Persian,were languages upon the cultivation of which a Muslim gentleman prided himself,and the latter was also the language of Company revenue records and Company law courts.[2]

But in 1835 the Government of Bentinck introduced a profound change in British educational policy in India. On March 7,1835 a resolution was passed which laid down that: "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India;and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone... It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council that a large sum has been expended by the Committee in the printing of Oriental works. his Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed".[3] Four years later, Lord Auckland realizing that the transfer of funds from the Oriental colleges had caused genuine hardship and alienated orthodox opinion

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1. Keane, On the Present State and Results of Government Public Instruction in India, A letter, 2nd.ed.,p.46.
2. Trevelyan, On the Education of the People of India, p.2.
3. Resolution of March 7,1835,paras 2 & 4. Selections from Educational Records, Part.I.pp.130-1.

"did restore some of the patronage of Government to classical Indian learning,while retaining and encouraging the new system of English education"[1]. But once and for all Oriental learning had been relegated to the background.

In I843 the Secretariat of the Government of India was remodelled and the Education Department was abolished. Local Governments were made responsible for the superintendence of education in their respective areas. By May 20,I844 a portion of the Education fund amounting to Rs.2,I3,270-6-6.had been placed at the disposal of the Local Government of the North-Western Provinces[2]. The Local Government soon formed a policy which was in marked contrast to the educational policy adopted in Bengal[3],where the 'downward filtration' theory ruled,in its neglect of the needs of the upper classes[4]. Much attention was devoted to the

I.Ballhatchet,The Home Government and Bentick's Educational Policy.p.228
2.General Report on Public Instruction in the North-Western Provinces for the year I843-4.,p.6.
3.Monteath,Note on the State of Education in India,I865-6,p.3.para.9. enclosure.Des.No.7 of 1867.India Ed.Dept.Collections to Despatches,vol.II
4."In estimating"says the first Report of the North-Western Provinces, "the progress which has been made in the educational Department in these Provinces,as well as in forming schemes for its future management,it must never be forgotton how much less encouragement there exists here for the study of English than is the case in the Lower Provinces,and in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay.There are here very few European Residents,except the functionaries of Government. There is no wealthy body of European merchants transacting their business in the English language,and according to the English method.There is no Supreme Court,where justice is administered in English;no English Bar or attorneys;no European sea-borne commerce,with its shipping and English sailors,and constant influx of foreign articles and commodities Even in the public service the posts are very few in which a knowledge of the English language is necessary for a discharge of their functions All European residents are sufficiently well acquainted with the vernacular to be able to express themselves,and to stand in no need of interpreters.All public business,except correspondence between English officers,is carried on in the vernacular language.There are,therefore,few means of diffusing a general taste for learning English in these provinces,or

(contd) .....

provision of primary education,and this in the vernaculars,Urdu and Hindi,two spoken dialects which were still in a very undeveloped form, and despised by upper class Hindus and Muslims alike. It was about the year 1850,as stated by Monteath in his Note,that organized efforts were made by the Government "for improving the education of the lower classes of the people". These efforts were directed to the establishment,at the several Tahsil stations,of Vernacular Schools "intended to serve as models for the improvement of the indigenous schools...".[1] The education of the lower classes of the people,as pointed out by Monteath, remained for many years "the main channel in which educational operations in the North-Western Provinces have been made to flow".[2]

But a second main feature of the Government's policy was that it aimed "With painstaking anxiety at the maintenance of a strict religious neutrality". From all the schools and colleges managed by Government, or by Local Boards or Municipalities the dogmatic teaching of religious creeds was excluded. Such a policy was scarely likely to win the support of the pious Muslim masses for the new vernacular schools, Nor was the frequent expression of ignorant contempt for indigenous schools by education department officials likely to win Muslim regard. Of that attitude the comments of H.R.Reid,Visitor-General,were typical. Of the Quran schools,of which it has been said that there is no " "other social institution in which the universalist spirit of Islam had so completely succeeded in imposing uniformity throughout the length and breadth of its territories, for the traditional subjects

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(contd.) of securing a sufficient reward to those who have exerted themselves to acquire it". General Report for Public Instruction for 1843-44,pp.5-6.

1.Monteath,op.cit. p.3,para.12.

2.ibid.para.11.

3. Alston,Education and Citizenship in India,p.60.

and methodsof elementary education alike by Niger,Nile, and Indus"[1], Reid remarked. " To us these "Koran" schools can present no feature of interest,beyond the fact that, in lieu of spending valuable time in parrot-like repetitions,the boys reading therein might otherwise be employed in acquiring a store of useful knowledge"[2].

For the upper classes of the province, the system now favoured by the authorities meant that the Government institutions previously established to serve their needs -- three colleges and secondary schools-- would be relatively neglected. The indigenous institutions of the upper classes were of course subjects for the hostility and contempt of those officials appointed to care for education.[3] Of the Persian schools and madrasas Fink,Superintendent of Indigenous Schools, wrote: "There can be no doubt that the numerous Persian schools in the district,and indeed throughout India,are an effect of the impulse which the study of the Persian language received some centuries ago, when the Mahomedan rulers of this land introduced it into their courts as the medium of communication in public transactions, and the higher orders of society employed it as the language of private correspondence and sometimes of conversation. Hence it is that it continues to be studied." But "The motives for studying Persian no longer exist", for,, he thought, "it contains little in science,philosophy or morality that can be of any practical benefit to the people or of interest to lovers of learning". He concluded "that it will soon cease to be regarded as a necessary acquirement... Should the Government ever resolve that the

1.Gibb and Bowen,Islamic Society and the West,vol.1,part.ii,p.139.
2.Reid,op.cit.p.41,para.116.
3.See appendix (iii) for a more favourable view of the possibilities of indigenous schools.

use of the Urdu,which is as foreign to the mass of the people as the Persian,be abolished,and the language of the majority of its subjects be the language of the law and of the courts,the study of the Persian will be neglected... Such an event is very desirable..."

"But there appear to me to be still stronger reasons for the exclusion of the study of Persian,from every scheme for the promotion of public education. So long as Persian is studied in the common schools,as at present,the Urdu will continue to be spoken by a large and influential portion of the people. But the employment of two distinct spoken languages by the agents and subjects respectively of any government is the perpetuation of a very serious obstacle to the administration of justice and the progress of civilization..."[1]

For the Arabic schools Reid showed no more enthusiasm than Fink for Persian. Witness his report in 1851, " The paucity of pure Arabic schools arises doubtless from the difficulty of finding men competent to teach. Respectable Musalmans have lamented to me the decadence of Arabic learning,expressing regrets which,I told them plainly, I was unable to share in.".[2]

Looking back upon Government policy in 1884 W.W. Hunter suggested "...a wider sympathy with the institutions already in existence would have attracted them to a closer alliance with,and appreciation of, the new method".[3] It is quite certain that the lack of sympathetic under-

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1.C.C.Fink,Appendix.1.General Report for Public Instruction for 1844-5, pp.lxii.Fink was an enthusiast for Hindi--hence his attacks upon Urdu

2.Reid.op.cit.p.40.

3. Education Commission, Report by the N.W.P. and Oudh Provincial Committee , p.88. (1883)

standing antagonised all those who through the indigenous schools had cultivated the old learning, so that they stood aloof from the new system and never attempted to appreciate its good features, In 1843 the Government of North-Western Provinces wrote to the Government of Bengal, "It can not be concealed from any one who has been in the habit of familiar intercourse with the Native gentry in these Provinces, that the Colleges or Schools established by Government have neither their countenance nor support; that to these Institutions they neither send their sons for education, nor do they themselves take the slightest interest in their existence, yet do they seek, through other means, to give to their children the best education they can afford".[1]

The history of Delhi College[2], established as far back as 1827, illustrates the failure to establish friendly contact and understanding, Though Shah'Abd ul'Aziz, the famous Muhaddis of Delhi had issued a fatwa that Muslims might without any hesitation learn the English language, the general attitude of the Mughal nobles and of all the higher classes of Delhi remained one of aversion for English and the Western sciences. They called the English schools Majhale[3] (places where ignorance was taught) and denied that English was a literary language.[4] The study of the Western mechanical sciences they dismissed as fit trade for a blacksmith.[5] Those who attended the Delhi College

1. Sir G.R.Clerk, letter dated the 8th August 1843, from the Government of the North-Western Provinces to the Government of Bengal, No.855 Selection from Educational Records, vol.II.p.233.
2. In the Delhi College the medium of instruction was Urdu. But first an English class and then an English department was opend as channels through which to introduce western civilization and sciences.
3. Hali, Maqalat i Hali, part.I.p.264.
4. Hali, Hayat, vol.II.p.75.
5. They would have been ready, turning Macaulay's phrase around, to admit their ignorance of English and yet pronounce that a single shelf of Arabic works was worth all the literature of England and Europe.

could not expect to be accepted in the learned society of Delhi.[1]

A memoir of Professor Ram Chandra (who was a brilliant student and afterwards a professor at the Delhi College,and a convert to Christianity) records,from the other side as it were,the lack of mutual understanding. " The doctrines of ancient philosophy taught through the medium of Arabic were thus cast in the shade before the more reasonable and experimental theories of modern science. The old dogma,for instance tance,that the earth is the fixed centre of the Universe,was generally laughed at by the higher students of the Oriental as well as by those of the English Department of the Delhi College. But the learned men, who lived in the city,did not like the innovation on their much-loved theories of the ancient Greek Philosophy,which had been cultivated among them for many centuries past".[2]

" By far the most popular side of the education offered in the Old Delhi College was that which dealt with Science. Here the interest was paramount,and it soon extended into the homes of the students within the city,where the new experiments would be repeated as far as possible in the presence of the parents".[2]

Though there was much mutual antipathy between the old and new learning,there could be,of course,no absolute barrier between them. In the Delhi College,Persian and Arabic were not neglected, and many of the students attained the highest standards in those languages.

1.Hali,Maqalat i Hali,part.1.p.264.
2.Professor Ramchandra,quoted by Andrews,Zaka Ullah of Delhi,pp.39-40.

Again not all upper class children stood aloof from Western learning-- a number of Muslim children of respectable family entered the Delhi College because they were too poor to pay for private tutors or could not neglect any means of preferment.[1]

If deterioration had set in among those classes representing the old order-- a deterioration which was in some cases political or economic rather than intellectual--there was a very small group of Muslims springing from the lower middle classes who were advancing. Ghalib was reforming and developing Urdu prose and poetry, the Delhi College was opening the way for a new philosophy and science. A renaissance was discernable among the Muslims (even the masses had been affected by Wahabism) and "between 1815 and 1857 in the neighbourhood of Delhi they undoubtedly achieved considerable success".[2]

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1. For Delhi College was generous in granting stipends to students.
2. Philips, India, p.90.

(IV)

Sir Syed and the Old Order.

I8I7-I858

Syed Ahmed Khan was born in Delhi on October,I7,I8I7.His ancestors,both paternal and maternal,had acquired great prominence in religious as well as worldly life. His paternal ancestors originally came from Arabia,whence they moved,first to Herat and then,during the reign of Shahjahan(I628-I657),to India.Ever after their arrival in India up to the reign of Akbar II(I805-I837)they "enjoyed Royal titles and dignity"[1].

In the reign of Alamgir II(I754-I759)Sir Syed's grand-father Sayyid Hadi was awarded the title Jawad ud Daula,Jawad Ali Khan, and the rank of Commander of I,000 foot and 500 horsemen. Sayyid Mahdi,brother of Sir Syed's grand-father was awarded the title of Qubbad 'Ali Khan,made Commander of I,000 foot and 500 horsemen, and was appointed to the post of Qazi and Muhtasib (a quasi-religious, quasi-judicial post).Sir Syed's father Sayyid Muttaqi, on the death of his father,was also offered the titles of his father. Sayyid Muttaqi,being a recluse,did not care for them and declined to accept them[2].He maintained close relations with Shah 'Alam,however,which ~~relations~~ which were only enhanced with the accession of Akbar Shah to the throne in I806. He was for a long time "the most intimate of the Emperor's friends"[3] and councillors[4]. Towards the close of Akbar Shah's reign when his son Salim Shah practically held the power

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1.Sir Syed,Asar us Sanadid(Traces of the Great),English preface, . . 2nd.ed.
2.Hali,Hayat,vol.I.p.I7.
3.Graham,Life,2nd.ed.p.4.
4.Nawazish Ali Khan,Hayat i Sir Syed(life of Sir Syed)p.5.

and appointed Sohan Lal,an old antagonist of Sayyid Muttaqi,to be Prime Minister,Sayyid Muttaqi stopped his visits to the Fort. When any communication was necessary,he used to send Sir Syed.

Of Sir Syed's maternal ancestors,Khwaja Farid,his grand-father and Khwaja Najib,brother of his grand-father,distinguished themselves most. Khwaja Najib,later Fida Husain,won a reputation as a great Majzub[1] (one who has lost himself in contemplation of the Deity). Khwaja Farid,on the other hand,distinguished himself as a great mathematician[2] and politician,and obtained an honourable position both in the East India Company's service and in the Mughal government. Since it was in Khwaja Farid's house and under his guidance that Sir Syed was brought up a word or two is necessary about the Khwaja's connection with the East India Company. By 1797 Khwaja Farid had distinguished himself so much as a mathematician and astronomer that men like General Martin, ~~or Mr. Gonauzly~~ at Lucknow would call to discuss problems with him.[3] So when the superintendentship of the Calcutta Madrassa fell vacant they recommended the man whose ability had so impressed them. He was appointed in 1797 and worked at the Madrassa until 1803, in which year he was appointed as Agent of the Company at the Persian court.[4] Khwaja Farid performed the job very competently and was appointed a full Political Agent at Ava. Still later,during the time of Akbar Shah (1806-37),first in 1815

1.ibid.p.Sir Syed,Sirat i Faridia (Biographical account of Farid),p.5.
2.Hali,Hayat,vol.1.p.21; Sir Syed,Sirat i Faridia,p.7
3.Sir Syed,Sirat i Faridia,p.9.
4. ibid.p.15.

and then in 1819 Khwaja Farid was appointed the Prime Minister of the Mughal Empire, on the recommendation of his son-in-law who had himself been offered the post.[1]

During his first term of office he was awarded the title of Dabir ud Daulah, Amin ul Mulk, Muslih Jang (Wisdom of the Kingdom, Guardian of the State, Reformer in War). But his wisdom and reforming zeal being directed to the balancing of income and expenditure he incurred the hostility of certain sections of the Court, and had to resign. He was, however, appointed a second time in 1819. On this occasion it was his close friendship with the British that aroused resentment.[2] Indeed his loyalty to the de facto rulers was such that eventually the Khwaja, on the advice of Auchterlony, the British Resident and a personal friend, resigned his post and went into retirement. On his death in 1826, Sir Edward Colebroke paid a visit of condolence to his family, as sign of the Company's appreciation of his services.[3] Sir Syed was thus brought up in contact with leading circles of the Mughal court but also in a tradition of loyalty to the British.

Sir Syed's mother, 'Azimun Nisa Begam, was the eldest daughter of Khwaja Farid. She was a very talented and cultured lady. It was "her gentle influence to which Syed Ahmed Khan owed so much in life".[4] Sir Syed has given many examples of her piety, generosity, philanthrophy

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1. Nawazish 'Ali Khan, Hayat i Sir Syed (Life of Sir Syed), p.4.
2. Sir Syed, Sirat i Faridia, p.24.
3. Sir Syed, Asar us Sanadid, 2nd.ed. English preface.
4. Shah Din, Syed Ahmed Khan as a Religious Reformer, p.6.

and resignation to God's will in the account of his grand-father, the Sirat i Faridia. She had a natural knack for bringing up and training children, which was fortunate, as Sir Syed's father, having no interest in worldly things, left her to rule her children. She would never allow a fault to be passed over, but she loved them also. She saw that her children did not mix with boys of lower status, that they loved their religion and were most honest and straightforward. She also took care of what they read.

Sir Syed was given by nature a very healthy body. His mother took care that he developed healthy habits. At the age of four, as for all the children of respected Muslim families, his Bismillah[1] was celebrated. His father invited Maulvi Shah Ghulam 'Ali, the famous Sufi of Delhi, to bless the child. Bismillah over, he was set to learn to read the Quran with a tutoress employed by his grand-father. After finishing the Quran he was sent to the Maktab where he learned elementary books of Persian such as Karima[2] and Khaliq i Bari[3]. A few advanced books such as Gulistan[4] and Bustan[5] finished, he started Arabic. He read a few books of Arabic but his attention was soon attracted towards the laboratory of his maternal uncle Zain ul 'Abidin Khan whose house adjoined Sir Syed's. Zain ul 'Abidin Khan's house "was looked upon as a strange place of mathematical and astronomical

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1. Ceremony among Muslims when child is first set to read.
2. A collection of moral precepts by Sa'di.
3. A rhyming dictionary of Arabic, Hindu and Persian synonyms.
4. A prose work in Persian by Sa'di.
5. A work in verse by Sa'di.

learning, full of scientific instruments, with pulleys hanging from the roof, and astral globes and charts and astronomical tables scattered about[1]". Sir Syed first got interested in mathematics and then in astronomy. (His interest in science developed with his years and found its expression on a broader scale when he succeeded in establishing the Scientific Society in 1863 with its main aim of promoting scientific knowledge among the people). Sir Syed was still selecting and rejecting subjects for his studies when he got married at the early age of seventeen. Two years later he gave up his formal studies altogether. Nevertheless he had developed a taste for reading which he kept refreshed throughout his life.

Early in his youth Sir Syed was given full liberty to move in the society of his own class. That society, as described before, had its own charms. He was attracted, as could be expected in a youngster, to the liveliest element of that society. He used to attend the numerous Melas going around the year in Delhi. He used to participate in the gatherings for kite-flying, archery and swimming. He used to attend the numerous music parties arranged by his uncles, by his other relatives and friends and used indeed to live a somewhat licentious life. But hardly had Sir Syed dipped his fingers in luxury when in 1838 his father died. The small pension that he used to get from the Fort was stopped, and Sir Syed, a youth of twenty-one, was forced, along with his brother, to look to the needs of the family.

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1. Andrews, Zaka Ullah of Delhi, p.65.

In those days a suitable job was a great problem. His relatives did not wish that he should sever his relations with the Fort, but Sir Syed, young as he was, could see that he could not count much upon the all-powerful minister Sohan Lal. His maternal uncle Maulvi Khalil ud Din was officiating as a Sadr Amin at Delhi. Sir Syed, therefore, despite the opposition of some relatives, decided to seek a job under the Company. He started as a probationer under his uncle, and in 1839 was appointed as Naib Munshi at the Commissioner's office at Agra.

Sir Syed's connection with Agra, which extended to almost ten years, was quite important in the development of his personality and of his acquaintance with British administration and culture. Not only did service under the British Government offer many opportunities to develop his capabilities, but it put him at the heart of the new civilization and politics in North India.

Agra had been annexed by the English after the victories of Lord Lake in 1803. It had long been a centre of political importance under the Lodi and Mughal kings. Akbar lived in this district for the greater part of his reign, and it is dotted with such magnificient and exquisite pieces of Mughal arthitecture as the Taj[1], the Jama' Masjid[2], the tomb of Itimad ud Daula[3], and the Chini ka Rauza[4]. It had also been a seat of learning and was noted as the birthplace of Abul Fazl the

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1. The famous Taj Mahal tomb constructed by the order of Shah Jahan the Mughal Emperor in memorial of his wife at Agra.
2. The great mosque.
3. Famous for its magnificance and grandeur.
4. Another famous tomb at Agra.

historian of Akbar and his brother,Faizi,the celebrated poet. But as the Muslim dominance in Agra had been broken by the Jats and Mahrattas, and there had been an influx of new men,traders,government servants and the like, the small Muslim remanant,twelve percent of the population, and many of them Shi'as,was less self-contained,perhaps less narrow-minded,than the Muslim community in Delhi. Nor had the political importance of Agra diminished.It remained a British frontier; and in 1835,when the new Presidency of Agra was founded,this city was chosen as the seat of Government,though the Board of Revenue and the principal courts remained at Allahabad till 1843,when they were moved to Agra"[1], Soon it became the centre of Government's educational activities.[2] In 1823 the Agra government College was established, to which was added an English department in 1830. In 1843 the Educational Department also was transferred from the Supreme to the Local Government, and thus Agra became the centre of the Local Government's educational activities.

Agra was also an important missionary centre. A Roman Catholic cathedral was built there in 1846,and several schools and orphanages. The Church Missionary Society was very active in both evangelical and educational work,and established St.John's College in 1850.(It had established an orphangge at Sikandra as early as 1837)[3]. There were also Baptist,American Episcopal Methodist,and Presbyterian churches in Agra , which thus became a centre for Christian preaching

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1.The Imperial Gazetteer, vol.v.new,ed. p.83.
2.Agra had been also a trading centre,Western industry or anything which came up from Calcutta was brought by boat to Agra.
3.Nevill, H.R., A Gazetteer, Agra,vol.vlll.pp.69-71.

and for missionary attack upon Islam.

Thus in Agra Sir Syed became well acquainted with and interested in Western religion, culture and administration. He acknowledged the administrative and literary superiority of the British, as is proved by his acceptance of western methods of historiography and his unshaken loyalty to the Company. But western culture as a whole did not win him so completely, for the upper class, official society in which Sir Syed moved still displayed the glitter of the old Mughal culture. Hali writes "when Sir Syed was appointed at Agra the Sadr Diwani 'Adalat still existed, and there were many eminent and celebrated wakils there, such as Ghulam Gilani Shahid, Ghulam Imam and Munshi Amir 'Ali Khan. They were a jolly lot and enjoyed life thoroughly. From day to day there were entertainment parties at places such as the tomb of Itimad ud Daula, and Nur Afshan. Sir Syed was a most lively and therefore an indispensable member of these gatherings"[1]. With some of these men he formed very close and life-long friendships.

Sir Syed possessed great physical power and an element of quixotry. He now began to show great will-power and competency in his work, and soon distinguished himself both in his official and private life, and began to develop the literary tastes which were to bring him so much fame in later life. Within a year he had compiled a pamphlet in Persian, the Jam i Jam[2] and a Transcript and Analysis of the Regulations. The Jam i jam was a tabulated account of the

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1. Hali, Hayat, vol.1.p.44.
2. The cup of Jamshid -- fabulous cup in which he could see all that went on in the world.

period of reign,year of accession,birth and death of all the Muslim kings of India from Timur to Bahadur Shah. The Transcription he had prepared as a recommendation for promotion in the office.[1] Meanwhile regulations for Munsif[2] were published by the Government. Sir Syed appeared and passed the examination.[3] In I84I Hakim Ahsan ullah Khan recommended his name in the Mughal court for his hereditary titles, and those were readily awarded to him with the further appellation of 'Arif Jang. Maulvi Nawazish 'Ali,Sir Syed's teacher and biographer, writes that the honour,though empty,was considered a great sign of dignity both by Indians and Europeans. Sir Syed's position,therefore, was considerably improved in the old society as well as in the eyes of his officials.[4] In I842 he got the desired promotion and was sent as Munsif to Fatehpur Sikri-- a'notified area' in Agra district, and at riding distance from it. While at Fatehpur,Sir Syed never broke his old connection with Agra. For many years together he used to spend his Sundays at Agra with his friend Maulv i Nur ul Hasan Hashmi (Who was helping him in his Arabic). There is also some indication that when Maulvi Nuruul Hasan Hashmi was First Arabic Master at Agra College,Sir Syed volunteered his services to examine the papers set for Government scholarships for the Oriental Department.[5]

It was in Fatehpur that Sir Syed showed for the first time a

I. Hali, Hayat,vol.I.p.50.
2. Sub-Judge.
3. Private physician of Bahadur Shah.
4.,Nawazish 'Ali Khan, Hayat i Sir Syed (Life of Sir Syed),p.I5.
5. General Report on Public Instruction in the N.W.P.of the Bengal presidency for I843-44.p.44.

tendency towards reform and a wish to disentangle himself from the bonds of custom and tradition. This tendency first appeared in the religious field. He wrote in 1841 a "short and correct"[1] biographical pamphlet in Urdu about the Prophet. Though it contains some things, such as miracles[2] performed by the Prophet, which he later sorrowfully admitted to be "unreliable and absurd"[3], it was nevertheless an attempt to do away with the legendary and superstitious elements woven round the life of the Prophet. Two years later, writing a book on the Prophet, an incident roused[4] Sir Syed to translate into Urdu the Tuhfa i Asna i Ashri'a, a book by Maulvi Shah 'Abdul 'Aziz to refute the charges of the Shi'as against the first three Caliphs. " I found", Sir Syed states in the preface of the pamphlet, "the common people are ignorant of the accounts of the Caliphs, and the Shi'a, even their children and house-mice, learn by-heart whatever false things they have invented against the Caliphs, and the commonalty are surprized and even misled by listening to them"[5].

In very different vein, Sir Syed translated into Urdu and published in 1844 a treatise on mechanics written by Abuzar of Yemen in Arabic and translated into Persian by Bu 'Ali. Then, all of a sudden, in

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1. Sir Syed, Tasanif i Ahmadiya, vol.1.part.1.p.19.
2. ibid.p.14.
3. ibid.p.19.
4. A Shi'a friend of Sir Syed bought a lamb as a pet for his son. After some time, in which the boy had become very fond of the lamb, the father slaughtered it secretly. When the boy became restless to see his pet, his father showed him the dead animal and told him that 'Umr had done it. Naturally the boy began to hate 'Umr thereafter.
5. Sir Syed, Tasanif i Ahmadiya, vol,1.part.1.pp.19-20.

1846,his elder brother Sayyid Muhammad,whom he loved dearly,died. His untimely death,in the prime of his life,greatly shocked Sir Syed. His heart became cold to worldly pleasures,and hereafter he did not care for the cut of his dress,or a well-groomed appearance. He grew his beard,proclaiming thereby that he was no longer a dandy,but was turning still closer towards religion. He got himself transferred to Delhi where he could look after the family and console his mother.

The death of his brother was not only a loss of a dear brother, but also of one of the two earning members of a large joint family. He decided to add to his income by his pen.and When Sir Syed was at Agra,the Persian professor of the Agra College,Maulvi Sadid ud Din, was collecting materials for a history of Agra. As Sir Syed was interested in literary works it is not impossible that he came to know of this.(In 1846 C.C.Jackson,Commissioner at Agra taking a great interest in it,saw it published)[1]. At Delhi, Sir Syed saw, there was

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1. A copy of this Tawarikh i Agra is in the India Office library. Part of its preface is interesting as showing the interest taken by English officers in the prepration of Indian local histories, and also the old panegyrical style of preface writing. "After praise of God and the Prophet it should not be hidden from the experts of arts that this ignorant one had collected from histories some accounts about Agra and those kings who stayed in and constructed buildings there. But on account of scanty leisure it was not compiled. Now the respected Sahib Bahadur,possesser of excellent virtues,raiser of the dignity of learned,Hatim (an Arab,famous for his generosity) of this period,Nawshirwan (a Persian king who is celebrated for his justice) of the age,the exalted,whose door keeper is Dara (son of Aurangzib the Mughal Emperor) who is the teacher of the world,nay but of the two worlds,benevolent to the respected,destroyer of oppression,whose servant is the Moon,whose ambitions are as high as the sky, Sir C.C.Jackson who is competent in Persian and has travelled in far off countries,and has been to Shiraz,Mazindran and other cities and has great knowledge about the current affairs and the histories of old and bears such a high standard of morality...despite excess of work, gave attention to the compilation of this book. It was wholly due to his attention that the book got ready." Sadid ud Din,Tawarikh i Agra, Agra,1848,pp.12-2.

a similar field in which to work, and he started upon it with the great zeal which by then had become his second nature.

The work, though interesting, was very strenous, and there were dangers in clambering among the ruins and hanging suspended to record and trace inscriptions. But Sir Syed's power of will was greater. He overcame all difficulties, and in 1847, within a year and half, the first edition of the Asar us Sanadid (Traces of the Great) was out. It is a descriptive account of the old Delhi, with drawings of the monuments, together with a chapter on the famous persons of Delhi. Like all important events, the compilation of this book left its marks deep on the heart of Sir Syed. In the words of Muhsin ul-Mulk " It was the writing of this book that brought home to him the fact that the Muslims were now plunging into an abyss of wretchedness from the peak of their literary progress".[1]

While compiling the Asar Sir Syed realized that though he could express himself plainly, he could not write the fashionable panegyric style. He could not bear the idea that the outcome of so much labour should be ridiculed or neglected. He, therefore, made his friend Maulana Sahbai, who had a very good style of the old fashion, rewrite the book for him.[2] Evidently this awareness of his shortcoming greatly affected Sir Syed, because he renewed his linguistic and literary studies with singular zeal under Maulvi Nawazish 'Ali, a preacher[3] at

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1. Muhsin ul-Mulk, Majmu'a Lectures wa Speeches, (Collection of Lectures and Speeches), part.1.p.315.
2. Hali, Hayat, vol.11.p.398.
3. Once in 1850, when Sir Syed's studies were not complete, he was posted to Rohtak for a few days. He could not bear that his studies should be interupted and persuaded his tutor to accompany him to Rohtak. Since there were other students to teach, he suggested that all of them should accompany their teacher. Sir Syed bore the fares and (contd.)

the Jam'a Masjid and a famous scholar of Persian and Arabic. His other teachers during this period were Shah Makhsus ullah, grandson of Shah Wali ullah, Shah Muhammad Ishaq, successor of Shah Abd ul'Aziz and Maulana Mamluk 'Ali, teacher of Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanatoi.[1] He also studied the Quran and the Hadith.[2]

It was during his studies in the Jam'a Masjid that he imbibed the ideas of Wahabism which were to become a major influence on him. These ideas found reinforcement from many of the remarkable people in whose company he come to move in Delhi. His friends formed a cultured and eminent group, and though they were of the old order, some of them had become aware of the necessity of religious regeneration and intellectual awakening. "Although it would be ridiculous to speak of Ghalib," writes G.E.Ward, "as a reformer, the influence which he exercised over the minds of his fellow countrymen undoubtedly prepared them for the acceptance of new ideas. He loosened the bands of prejudice and religious formalism and kindled a spirit of generous philanthrophy". Sir Syed used to call Mirza Ghalib Chacha (uncle) and he

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(continued from last page). the boarding and lodging expenses of all. One of the students of Maulvi Nawazish'Ali who went to Rohtak with him has left a record of Sir Syed's studies there. He stated: "He used to start his lessons from early morning and used to read twenty to twenty two pages every day of Sharh i Jami and Sharh i Qutbi with Maulvi Nawazish'Ali....After lessons he used to have his meal, and taking rest for some time would go to the Court, work there till evening, come back, take his dinner and after prayers go to bed. After a sleep and study till morning." Hali, Hayat, vol.2. p.458.

1. Ikram, Mauj i Kausar p.65.
2. Nur ur Rahman, Hayat i Sir Syed, (Life of Sir Syed), p.29.
3. Ward, The Quatrains of Hali, p.79.

received much kindness from him. A closer acquaintance,with whom he invariably spent his evenings,was Mufti Sadr ud Din Khan[1],at whose house used to assemble many capable persons,such as Mustafa Khan Shefta[3],Imam Bakhsh Sahbai[4] and Momin[5]. Most of these people were Wahabis, and the spirit of reformation had permeated them,but Sir Syed surpassed all of them in his zeal for Wahabism.Once they were discussing Bid'at (innovation in religion),Sir Syed went as far as to say that to eat a mango,something which the Prophet had never done,would be a bid'at[6]. Inspired by this discussion he wrote a pamphlet Rah i Sunnat(The Path of the Sunnah)which is permeated with the same spirit.Within the next two years he wrote two other religious works.A Namiqa fi Bayan Mas'la-i Tasawwur i Shaikh(A Brochure on the Esoteric Aspect of Spiritual Contemplation)in Persian,in letter form and a translation of a chapter from the Kimiya Sa'adat by Ghazali.

In 1852 Sir Syed wrote and published another piece of history, this time a Silslat ul Muluk (Series of kings)in which he claims to give a record of the names and correct dates of 202 rulers of India from Yudhishtar to Queen Victoria,covering a period of five thousand years.

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1. Mufti Sadr ud Din Azurda,(1204-1285 A.H.)was the most dominating personality of that age.He held the office of Sadr us Sadur,the highest post then opened to Indians.He was a very learned man and was a master of Arabic,Persian and Urdu.During the Mutiny he became involved in trouble and lost half of his jagir.
2. Hali,Hayat,vol.2.p.425.
3. Shefta(1806-1851)was a famous poet of his time.Poetical assemblies were convened weekly at his house and that of Azurda.Shefta is also known for his criticism.
4. Imam Bakhsh Sahbai was a distinguish scholar of Persian and Arabic and a professor in the Old Delhi College.He was killed during the Mutiny,and his house was razed to the ground.
5. Momin(1800-1851)held a comspicuous position for his poetic talents and the very high estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries.
6. Sir Syed,Tasanif i Ahmadiya,vol,1.Part.1.p.135.

In I854 Sir Syed brought out a second edition of the Asar us Sanadid, with much improvement. In revising this work he was helped by Mr.Roberts, Collector and Magistrate of Shahjahanpur, who suggested the rearrangement of much of the material. Later, in I86I, this book was translated into French by Garcin de Tassy, the famous French Orientalist, and in I864 Sir Syed was appointed Honorary Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society as an appreciation of his work.[I]

Despite all this literary effort and continuous study, Sir Syed never failed to perform his official duties with the utmost honesty and uprightness. He was loved and admired by all his superiors for the conscientiousness with which he acted. "Before the Mutiny", says Hali, "his piety was terrifying. Those whose cases were before him could not dare to exert an influence upon him, or to give him any present, though some ignorant claimants would pay a visit to his house and take something as the customary present. Not only would Sir Syed not accept such presents but he used to become so suspicious of them as to let it affect his decision. At last claimants before him became careful not to see him during the case. False claimants and false withesses trembled at his name. Neither his relatives nor others could hope for a partial judgement".[2] Nor did he differentiate between Hindus and Muslims.

Consciousness of his own uprightness and honesty naturally heightened his self-respect, and he refused to be treated unjustly or to accept the whims and caprices of his English officers. In the nineteenth

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I. Hampton, Biographical Studies in Modern Indian Education, p.2I7.
2. Hali, Hayat, vol.2.p.22.

century, the British, as a nation, had a great reputation for their uprightness, justice, and for their appreciation of these qualities in others. But their position in India and their pride of race had tended, at least in a few, to the adoption of a contemptous attitude towards the Indians. They had also formed a very poor idea of the morals and characters of Indians as a nation.[1] Sir Syed's honesty, which had also made him courageous, made him careful to safeguard his self-respect. He always remained duly obedient to higher authorities, but he never paid heed to their unjust demands. Once J.P.Gibbons, judge at Delhi, asked him, for some private reason, not to see a person who was Sir Syed's intimate friend. Sir Syed very politely answered him, " Sir, no douht, I am your subordinate and will obey you most willingly in official procedure, but you have no right to interfere in my private affairs. Would it be possible for me to obey if you ask me, for instance, not to see my mother or sister for sometime?".[2] There are other instances of Sir Syed, when he thought himself in the right, carrying out his decisions against his European judges.[3]

In January 1855 he was transferred to Bijnor. The two years spent there before the Mutiny are remarkable for his growing interest in historical and religious studies. He wrote a History of the District of Bijnor for the Government, which was destroyed in manuscript during the Mutiny. He also wrote a refutation of the Missionary charges against

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1. Campbell, India As It May Be; An Outline of A Proposed Government and Policy, p.xvii.
2. Hali, Hayat, vol.2.p.24.
3. ibid.pp.25-6.

Islam and the Prophet Muhammad which had become frequent in those days and had created great resentment and excitement among the Muslims when the Mutiny occurred.

Then came the Mutiny. It was started by the army but was joined and furthered by all those classes which had been harrassed economically and culturally by the advent of the British. The deposed aristocracy and the leaders of the old culture, the 'Ulama and the Brahmans, provided the leaders and propagandists. There were no doubt, "so far as the army was concerned", more Hindus than Muslims involved in the outbreak,[1] and there were some Hindu leaders too, such as the Rani of Jhansi and the Nana Sahib, but as a whole, in North India, the Muslims provided the leadership. In Delhi and Oudh in particular, the Mutiny became a war between the British and the Muslims. There were good reasons for that. There were the places where the Muslims had been predominant. Both places were the chief centres of Muslim power and influence. Again, in Oudh the Muslim industrial classes had been largely ruined under the Company's rule, while Sayyid Ahmad of Rai Bareilly and his followers had united and inspired them with the spirit of Jihad (a holy war) against the non-Muslim power which oppressed them. The Hindu inhabitants of these places, the banias, shroffs and peasants had, however, benefitted by the peace and order, and by the revenue settlement of the British.[2] So the Hindu attitude was friendly where the Muslim was hostile. "I cannot" stated Raikes the Judge of the Sadr Court at Agra who was in the Mutiny in the fort at Agra, "give a fairer

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1. Abul Kalam Azad, Eighteen Fifty Seven, preface, p.xix.
2. Raikes, Notes on the North-Western Provinces of India, p.80.

instance of the difference between the conduct of the Hindoo and Mahomedan people at the time of the Mutiny then was afforded in our own court at Agra. We had numerous Mahomedans and Hindoos,with a sprinkling of Christians, at the bar. With one exception, all the Mahomedan pleaders left the court;.....The Hindoos,on the contrary,exerted themselves to protect and secure the property of their English judges, preserved our houses and moveable property, and did whatever else they could to show their loyalty and affection. The Mahomedans either deserted us or joined the rebels. And so it was all over the North Western Provinces; a Mahomedan was another word for a rebel".[1] In Delhi the Hindus were praying for the British Government's success.[2]

It is not surprizing that the British considered the Mutiny the outcome of a Muslim conspiracy to re-establish their rule,[3] and after the Mutiny turned on them "as their real enemies". All signs of their superiority were effaced. The King was tried and sent for imprisonment in Rangoon. The princes were shot down and the aristocracy completely destroyed. Delhi, the capital of their empire,was looted and desolated.

Thus the immediate consequences of the Mutiny were more disastrous to the Muslims than to the Hindus. More disastrous still were the attitudes established in the hearts of the British and the Muslims on account of the struggle. The British Government was embittered[4] and adopted a policy of suspecting the Muslims as a community. The Muslims,

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1.Raikes, Notes on the Revolt of the North-Western Provinces of India, p.175.

2. "The chief Hindoos in our civil employ are Kynts,and men of that class,our own creatures, who owe everything to our rule,and are very unlikely to rebel". \Campbell,Memoirs of My Indian Career, vol.11,p.394.

3.Hunter,The Indian Musalmans,p.147.

4. See Campbell,Memoirs of My Indian Career,vol.1, p.243.

for their part, developed a keen sense of injustice and resentment towards the British. Their subjugation and powerlessness lowered them in their own eyes and seemed to darken their future for ever.

Sir Syed was at Bijnor when the Mutiny occurred. He was called upon to take an actual part in the tumult and uproar that took place and was an eye witness of all the misfortunes that fell upon the Englishmen and women there, and of the destruction brought about by the civil war between Nawab Mahmud Khan and the Hindu Chaudharis. He played his part wisely and bravely.[1] Not only did he save some thirty Englishmen and women from the hands of the Mutineers, but for some time he looked after the administration of the district till the Mutineers defeated him and compelled him to run for his life.[2] "Aided by some friends, he managed with great difficulty, to elude them, and reached Meerut, after several weeks' exposure and danger".[3] When he reached Meerut, foot-sore and exhausted, he had nothing on him except a torn shirt and six coppers in his pocket.[4] But all the danger to his life, and the physical hardship and suffering did not really worry him. He was anxious to know about him family and his relatives who were still

1. See the official letter from Mr. Shakespeare p.49, Collector of Bijnor, to the Commissioner of Rohilkhand quoted by Graham in the Life (2nd.ed) pp.22-23; Sir John Strachey, Lieutenant-Governor, N.W.P., said of him in a speech at Aligarh, on the IIth Dec. I880: "No man ever gave nobler proofs of conspicuous courage and loyalty to the British Government than were given by him in I857: no language that I could use would be worthy of the devotion he showed". Muhsin ul Mulk, Addresses and Speeches, p.4.
2. Nevill, A Gazetteer, Bijnor, vol.xlv.p.I85.
3. Graham, 2nd.ed.p.20.
4. Hali, Hayat, vol.I.p.74.

in Delhi. He had heard, on his way to Meerut, the news of the fall of Delhi. He also had heard that his house had been looted by the British army. Greatly worried he at once managed to get the necessary passport and made his way to Delhi. Towards the end of September he reached there. He had but recently left a Delhi full of life and splendour. He found it now a dead city. He saw all the houses of the inhabitants demolished, and heard that most of the owners had been killed. When he reached home he found his mother with an old servant in his groom's room they had had nothing to drink for three days.[1] He managed to relieve their distress, but so great had been the suffering and anxiety of these women during the seige and affer that both of them died within a month. He heard that his uncle and cousin had been killed by the British army.[2] Yet his personal miseries were but a grain of sand in the desert he saw around him. He saw the complete destruction of the old capital and of the old noble families, and it gave him such a shock that he could never forget it. Indeed at that moment he had no hope that his people could revive or would achieve any respect again.[3] It became unbearable for him to look upon them in their then condition.

He himself was offered a large jagir by the Government as reward for his services. He rejected it. He thought for a moment of migra-

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1. Sir Syed's wife and three children who were also in Delhi were taken to safety by one of his friends, Maulvi Sam'i ullah Khan of whom we will write later. Zaka ullah, Sawanih 'Umri Haji Muhammad Sam'i ullah Khan Bahadur, . .(Life of Haji Muhammad Sam'i ullah Khan) p.31.
2. Nawazish 'Ali Khan, Hayat i Sir Syed, p.20.
3. Sir Syed, Lecture dated Dec.28, 1889, Muk.Maj. p.399.

tion to Egypt--and then set aside the decision. He later related what passed through his mind: " For some days I had been thinking and sorrowing over it(the nation). Believe me,this sorrow made me old and turned my hair grey. When I reached Muradabad,which had been a great centre of the destroyed chiefs of our nation,my sorrow was still more enhanced. But then I thought that it would be very disgraceful and unmanly to leave my people in such a ruinous condition and to find out a corner of safety for myself. No. It was my national duty to stand beside my people in the time of their distress and to do away with the calamity which had fallen upon them".[1] After taking this decision Sir Syed,with a mad enthusiasm,plunged into the fire which was burning his people. Sir Syed's enthusiasm if mad,was neither blind nor momentary. With a singular farsightedness and wisdom he set on foot "the greatest movement that has ever been undertaken in the religious, social,and educational spheres"[2] for the regeneration of his people. And by "a lifetime of single-minded effort...succeeded'in arresting the degeneration of a whole people'"[3].

Thus the year 1857, so important in the history of India, proved also to be a landmark in the life of Sir Syed. Hereafter the history of his life becomes the history of the benevolent movement he set going for his people. What he strived for and achieved will be discussed in the succeeding chapters.

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1. [illegible], ibid.pp.399-400.
2. Suhrawardy,'India' in Islam Today,ed.A.J.Arberry and [illegible], p.202.
3. Philips,India,p.91.

CHAPTER II

The Development of Sir Syed's Ideas between the Mutiny and his Visit to England. 1858 - 1869

(i)
At Moradabad 1858-1862

In 1858 Sir Syed had been transferred to Moradabad, where he was appointed sub.-judge, 1858-62. There he set down in writing his analysis of the events of 1857 which had so profoundly affected his ideas and the fortunes of his people. His famous Urdu treatise Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind(Causes of the Indian Revolt) was published in 1859. The object of this monograph was the study of the causes, mainly political, that had inevitably led Muslims, with others, to the violent outbreak which he regarded as primarily a Sepoy war.[1] The treatise was dictated by his desire to help the Government acquire a juster understanding of the truths about the revolt and to defend the Muslims against its bitter consequences. Of the 500 copies printed, 498 were sent to England and one to the Government of India --- the last Sir Syed himself retained.[2] He traced all the causes of the Mutiny to a failure in communication, exemplified by the "non-admission of a native as a member into the Legislative Council".[3] That exclusion had denied to the Government and to the

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1. Sir Syed, The Causes of the Indian Revolt, p.3.

2. Hampton op.cit. p.219.

3. Sir Syed, The Causes of the Indian Revolt, p.11.

people the opportunity of knowing the intentions of each other and so of avoiding misapprehensions on either side. The denial of such opportunity by the Government, he thought, was on the ground of the illiteracy of the Indian people.

He deliberately avoided dealing with the "knotty points" concerning the manner in which Indian representation could have been, or should be arranged. "I do not wish to enter here into the question as to how the ignorant and uneducated natives of Hindustan could be allowed a share in the deliberations of the Legislative Council; or as to how they should be selected to form an assembly like the English Parliament. These are knotty points."[1] But the great drawback which illiteracy imposed, did not fail to attract his attention.

Again, as his object in writing the treatise was to explain to the British authorities the realities of the Indian Revolt, he felt bound to discuss the educational policies of the missionaries and the Government. Those policies he thought had been one of the sources of misunderstanding and unrest among the people. They learned Persian and Arabic and regarded the vernaculars as something not worth learning at all, but the trend of Government action, after 1835, had been to refuse, or only in meagre fashion to extend, patronage to classical Eastern learning. Instead the Government had favoured

1. ibid p.15.

English and the despised vernaculars.[1] Moreover, the favourable attitude towards missionaries and missionary schools which the Government had gradually adopted after 1813, ~~to the missionaries~~ renouncing its former policy of opposition to their activities, had been equally a source of suspicion to Muslims.[2] Such fundamental changes in the pattern of education in India had not been without far-reaching political repercussions and, intermingled with other causes, had brought people into collision with the Government. As a well-wisher of both the Government and the people, he could not fail to discuss, if not the correctness of educational policy, at least the public reactions to that policy.

He found that the people had been growing uneasy about the intentions of the Government towards their religions. They had felt that it wished to deprive the Hindustanees of all means of subsistence and by impoverishing them gradually, to substitute its own religion in the place of theirs[3]. The Government's favourable attitude, and the interest shown by individual government officials in the affairs of missionary schools-which were primarily established to propagate the Christian faith - had particularly aroused suspicion in the minds of the people. Of that Sir Syed wrote, "Then missionary schools were started in which the principles of the Christian faith were taught. Men said it was by the order of the Government. In some districts covenanted officers of high position and of great influence used to visit the schools

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1. "There was a deep and growing dissatisfaction and excitement throughout Behar, particularly among the Mahomedans, arising from the suspicions with which several measures of the Bengal Government, and especially those connected with education, were contemplated". Tayler, Magna Est Veritas, A Narrative of Events connected with my removal from the Patna Commissionership in 1857. Part the first, p.5.
2. Sir Syed, The Causes of the Indian Revolt, pp.17-8.
3. ibid. pp.16,17.

and encourage the people to attend them. Examinations were held on books which taught the tenets of the Christian religion. Lads who attended the schools used to be asked such questions as the following: 'Who is your God?', 'Who is your Redeemer?', and these questions they were obliged to answer agreeably to the Christian belief,---- prizes being given accordingly"[1].

The same suspicion was voiced even in the case of schools which were established by the Government itself, despite its guarded policy of non-interference and neutrality in religious affairs. The masses saw in them too instruments for preaching the Christian faith[2]. Better informed men would complain that in ousting the classical languages by the vernaculars and English, and Oriental learning by Western science, the intention of the Government was indirectly "to wipe out the religions which it found in Hindustan"[3]. "When the village schools were established," Sir Syed wrote, "the general belief was that they were instituted solely with the view of teaching the doctrines of Jesus. The pergunnah visitors, and deputy inspectors, who used to go from village to village, and town to town advising the people to enter their children at these Schools, got the nickname of Native Clergymen[4] ..... Well-informed men, although they did not credit this, saw, nevertheless, that in these schools nothing but Urdu was taught. They were afraid that boys while reading only Urdu would forget the tenets of their own faith, and that they would thus drift in to Christianity. They

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1. ibid., p.18-19.
2. ibid., p. 19
3. ibid., p.21.
4. In Urdu Sir Syed wrote "kala", that is, black.

believed, also, that Government wished such books as bore upon the doctrines of the former religions of Hindustan, to fall into entire disuse. This was to be done with the view of ensuring the spread of Christianity".[1]

What had already become a conviction of the people was further confirmed by the decision of the Government to change the old curricula and to introduce the vernaculars and English in the schools and colleges.[2] "The large Colleges established in the towns, were from the first a source of suspicion. At the time of their establishment .... however, the Colleges were conducted on a principle widely different from that which is at present adopted. Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and English were equally taught. The "FicKah" (sic)[3] "Hadees" (sic) and other such books were read. Examinations were held in the "FicKah" (sic) for which certificates of proficiency were given. Religion was not in any way thrust forward. The professors were men of worth and weight-all Scholars of great reputation, wide knowledge and sound moral character. But all this has been changed.[4] The study of Arabic is little thought of. The "FicKah" (sic) and "Hadees" (sic) were suddenly dropped. Persian is almost entirely neglected. Books and methods of teaching have been changed. But the study of Urdu and of English has greatly increased. All this has tended to strengthen the idea that Government wished to wipe out the religions which it found in Hindustan".[5]

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1. ibid. pp. 19-20.
2. Change of policy in 1835.
3. Fiqa' - Muslim Law; Hadith - Muslim Tradition.
4. Here Sir Syed refers to the change of policy in 1835.
5. Sir Syed, The Causes of the Indian Revolt, pp. 20-21.

In writing an account of the public reaction to the Government's educational policy, Sir Syed was certainly aiming at transmitting the public feelings to the Government. But he was also voicing his own feelings about Government education. That he thought it insufficient is proved by the fact that when in 1859 he got an opportunity himself to establish a school, he founded a Persian school on the lines of the old educational system. The founding of his school in Moradabad can be seen as the beginning of his active experiments in education, and it is most instructive to see what were his first ideas.

Before the Mutiny, the Muslims in Moradabad had been the most influential class[1], consisting of Sayyids, Pathans and Shaikhs, the leading castes - if we may use the word - of the Muslims. They had formed the chief class of landholders[2] in the district. Far from the centres of English Government and civilization, they had been immersed in their notions of superiority and clung to the dying order. Their rare direct relations with the English Government had been connected with the proceedings for the resumption of lands, as most of their lands were revenue free[3]. These contacts with a British Government which deprived them of their livelihood and status, when

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1. Nevill, A Gazetteer, Moradabad, vol. xvi, p.97.
2. ibid, p.87.
3. ibid, p.97.

allied to their religious zeal and prejudice, had led them to be anti-British. A statement in the Moradabad Gazetteer thus depicted their attitude towards the Mutiny. "Throughout the district the Musalmans as a body had shown in the clearest manner their antipathy to the British Government and while in other parts the rebellion was confined mainly to the troops and the lawless sections of the papulation, there can be no doubt that in Moradabad, as in other districts of Rohilkhand, there was a general revolt on the part of the Musalman community, inflamed by fanaticism to an intense hatred of everything English. Even the knowledge of that language was a cause of suspicion".[1]

Among those Muslims who formed the preponderant element in Moradabad, and even among the important Brahmin families, and the Rajput landholding classes, Mughal culture still predominated. Persian, though after 1835 no longer used in the law courts, was still the language of all the upper classes, Hindu or Muslim. Persian poetry was cultivated. Even the language of correspondence was Persian. It is true that Ghalib, the famous poet, had started writing letters in Urdu and had averred that to do so was not ignoble. But, as seen before, accomplishment in Persian and Arabic was still essential to anyone who wished to be respected in society. So, right up to the time of the Mutiny the Government vernacular schools were despised, and private Persian schools flourished.

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1. ibid., p.166.

If, before the Mutiny, the upper classes of Moradabad had persistently ignored the educational facilities provided by the British Government, after the Mutiny, which had made them "bitterly sullen, antagonistic"[1], an institution offering an English or vernacular education for their children was naturally suspected.

Sir Syed therefore proposed to found a school on the old classical lines. He had, in any case, a high opinion of the substantial achievements of these private Persian schools, and hoped that with certain improvements they might far surpass the Government schools, besides being more acceptable to the people. At a later stage he was to say "These schools paid much attention to education which, in my opinion, was much more efficient and advanced than the present standard of vernacular middle class. Almost the whole class of men who can lay a claim to learning in the North-West Provinces, the Punjab and Behar ..... owes its education to these very schools"[2].

Nevertheless, his experience of the Mutiny had exposed one grave defect of these schools. He found their curricula lacking in history, especially modern history[3]. He was convinced that a lack of knowledge of the stability and resources of the British Government had emboldened the Indian chiefs and Nawabs recklessly to rebel against it. He considered history to be the source of that sense which saves nations from committing blunders fatal to their life, and which, by creating a political consciousness, enables a people to understand their existing

1. Smith, Modern Islam in India, p.16.
2. Education Commission, Report of the N.W.P. & Oudh Provincial Committee, p.284.
3. Virtually no history was normally read in such schools. See Thornton, op. cit., para. 67, p.51.

condition. Sir Syed, therefore, decided to introduce modern history in his school.

With all these considerations in his mind, Sir Syed founded his school in Moradabad on the 5th November 1859. He intended that in its organisation and in the content of its teaching the school should make a real advance upon existing Persian institutions. Thus, whereas they made no use of an organised class system and enforced no regular discipline, Sir Syed's Madrasa had a "Roll of daily attendance ..... as also a General Register".[1] Children were divided into classes, a curriculum was fixed and "examinations took place and scholarships and prizes were awarded to outstanding students".[2] The school was also distinguished among other schools of the type in that its curriculum laid great emphasis on modern history. It might almost be said that it was opened "especially for the study of modern history",[3] an essential study for Indian rulers and men of the upper classes, from Sir Syed's point of view.

The school was important in yet another respect. Instead of seeking the aid of the Government, he looked to locally influential men for co-operation and financial help. The school was established "through the active exertion of the Local Committee and the liberal aid of the influential and respectable residents of the city".[4] Among the contributors there were both Muslims and Hindus.

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1. Yadullee, Report of the Primary Examination of the Moradabad Mudrassa held on 1st January 1860, p.4.
2. ibid. p.5.
3. Graham, Life, 2nd ed., p.48.
4. Yadullee, op. cit., p.1.

(It is possible that the idea of establishing a school with the aid of subscriptions from the people was prompted by the Educational Despatch of 1854, which had stated: "The consideration of the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done in order to provide adequate means for the education of the natives of India, and of the ready assistance which may be derived from efforts which have hitherto received but little encouragement from the state, has led us to the natural conclusion that the most effectual method of providing for the wants of India in this respect will be to combine with the agency of the Government the aid which may be derived from the exertions and liberality of the educated and wealthy natives of India, and of other benevolent persons"[1]).

In all these ways, Sir Syed sought to break new ground and not least to make the idea of a public school itself acceptable to the respectable Muslims and Hindus, who in the past had educated their children at home. In the speech he made on the occasion of prize distribution he said:

"All you gentlemen here present have doubtless taken into your consideration the difference there is between public and private education. It is a fact beyond question, that in a Madrassa masters of first-rate abilities are engaged at handsome salaries, who take great pains in giving instruction to the boys, and they are all in fact

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1. Despatch to the Govt. of India on the subject of General Education in India, Return to an Order of the House of Commons dated July 18, 1854, India Board, July 19, 1854, para. 51, p. 10.

stipendiary teachers to each one of the students .... Now it is very evident, that superior talent can not be secured in every private family for the domestic tuition of its youthful members.

"In a Mudrissa there is also created a strong feeling of incitement and emulation among the boys, which is confessedly a powerful stimulus to study and improvement. Now this incentive with its commensurate advantages, is altogether wanting in private tuition.

"Pray do not for a moment entertain the mistaken idea that it is in the least degree derogatory for the offspring of wealthy and respectable men to attend at a public school. Think of the Hindu Patshala of a former age, and read the history of the Mohamedans, and you will find that high dignitaries regarded the education of their youth in large public schools as a great honour; and assuredly it is so. For all the eminent Pandits and Maulvees who have lived before us or who are now living, and whom all you great men hold in high esteem and respect, all received their education and acquired their profound learning at public schools, and not at their own houses. You also see that I have placed my own son[1] in this Mudrissa, who has passed his examination with the other boys, and has like them, been rewarded with a book as a prize; and let me assure you, that it has been a source of great satisfaction to see my son seated among his poorer companions, and answering the questions of the examiners, and meekly putting forth his hand to receive from yours the book you have been

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1. Sayyid Muhammad, Sir Syed's nephew. ?

pleased to give him as mark of his desert; and all these things I regard as adding to, and not detracting from my own dignity and position. It must therefore be a matter of astonishment, if any man of good status should look upon it seriously as infra dignitatem to send his son to a Mudrissa"[1].

This speech lays bare one of the particular instances of Sir Syed's farsightedness. But it also indicates one of the characteristic features of his social policy in public education; it was quite in consonance with his social outlook that he should have focussed his attention mainly on the middle class.

When Sir John Strachey found himself entrusted with the disposal of funds left by Azim Lisa Begam for Muslim education, Sir Syed joined in raising further funds and agreed to merge his Persian school in the larger Government school which Sir John established.[2]

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1. Yadullee, op. cit, pp. 9-11.
2. Hali, Hayat, vol. 1, p.84.

Side by side with the foundation of his Persian school, which was an attempt to retain the control of the Muslim upper classes over the educational system of the country, Sir Syed published a "Statement" protesting against the use of the vernaculars, especially of Urdu, as the medium of instruction in Government schools. He did not criticise, as did others, the use of the vernaculars in place of the classical languages because that would prevent the people from learning the tenets of their religion; he did hold, however, that the adoption of the vernaculars would ohstruct the way to higher learning. Thus he advocated a refusal by the upper classes of the system of education extended by the Government, even though it was neutral on religious matters.

He did not agree with Government in its argument that education would naturally become easier when people were taught through their own languages. "The Government has taken it for granted", Sir Syed wrote, "that whenever the education of a people is undertaken, it will be found most easy to give that education to the people in their own language, and that this will save the time which would otherwise be wasted in learning the words and phrases of a foreign language. (It is apparent that the Europeans and the Arabs are examples of peoples who had learned sciences through their own languages). But this opinion is false. The same can not be true of all languages".[1]

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1. Sir Syed, "Statement", quoted by Hali, Hayat, vol. 1, p.85.

He based his whole argument on the fact that these languages, and especially Urdu, were incapable of serving the purpose of an appropriate medium of instruction for higher learning or of becoming a means of cultivating the intellectual faculties of people - which is the ultimate object of education. While his arguments against the vernaculars were put in general terms, he was quite explicit and precise in pointing out the weaknesses of Urdu. This language, he asserted, was not rich in its literature, nor, because it was the vulgar tongue of the people, could one hope that it would become capable of serving as a vehicle for literary works. He believed that the Urdu language though in various places in use as the medium of instruction, was not really fit for that purpose: "because we have to see whether there are enough literary works in the language through which we intend to instruct a people; because if there are not, education is not possible. Secondly, we have to see whether the language in itself allows of the composition of literary works in it. For though the first defect is remediable the second is not. Thirdly, we have to see whether the language is such as to create quickness of apprehension, acuteness of mind, rightness of thinking, high intellect, power of speech, maturity of thought and skill of argumentation. In Urdu we find none of these three qualities".[1] In this opposition to Urdu as the medium of instruction Sir Syed was only representing the attitude of that

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1. ibid., pp.85 - 86.

upper class(to which he himself belonged) towards the vernacular. He was thinking of the educational requirements of that class - his language policy followed. There also followed criticism of what was taught in the Government schools. The Government in educating the people,he believed, did not aim beyond the practical needs of the day-to-day life of the lower classes. For this, a limited education in the vernaculars could easily suffice. But a school system introduced with such limited ideas of education,and with the undeveloped vernaculars as the means of instruction, became,he said, "not only insufficient but corruptive for the education and training of the Indian people".[1] It was insufficient because it could not achieve the object of education which was to train the mind.

With these considerations he recommended the Government to get rid of the vernaculars and to replace them in the schools by English,a language which he found able to fulfill the true objects of education".[2]

With this study of his early educational activities,which began from his Moradabad days,it is also essential to survey his social and political views of the same period. He advocated the necessity of establishing an alliance between the Muslims and Christians on a religious basis to bring about a mutual understanding between the British Government and its Muslims subjects

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1. ibid, p.85.
2. ibid. p.86.

in political affaire. This is important for the fact that it shows his liberal attitude towards the religion of the foreigners, which had begun to develop, in the very early period of his activities, into an appreciation for their language and science, too. This developed at a still later stage into a more vigorous movement for the adoption of the English language and the Western sciences and culture, which formed the main aspect of his educational policy.

If in his earliest educational venture Sir Syed had moved on orthodox or classical lines, he was prepared, as has been seen, to co-operate with the Government and accept English as a medium of instruction. He recognised that English was a fit language for a respectable Muslim -- when Urdu was not.

His social and political views in these years also reflect Sir Syed's readiness to accept the good which the West might offer, and his appreciation of the need to foster a better understanding with the British. If in 1859 there was something of the opportunist about his cultivation of good relations with the Government -- as when he organised a prayer meeting of 15,000 Muslims in thanksgiving for the end of the Mutiny -- his liberal attitude was to develop into a genuine appreciation of the language and science of Britain. Still later he was to devote his most vigorous efforts to securing the adoption by Muslims of the English language or Western sciences and culture.

So, when Sir Syed was led to achieve a political readjustment in the relations between British and Muslims, he looked to a

close cultural contact as a solution. As Sir John Strachey remarked, "He saw clearly that even after a hundred years of English occupation there was but little sympathy between the Moslems and the English, and that only by enlightenment and culture could friendly relations be cultivated".[1]

Thus, in his Causes of the Indian Revolt in which he attempted to remove misunderstandings about the Muslims, Sir Syed laid great stress upon the importance of social intercourse between the two peoples. "...friendly relations between the governors and the governed", he wrote, "are far more necessary than between individuals, [because whereas] private friendship only affects a few, friendship and good feelings between a government and its subjects affect a nation. As in private friendships two persons are united by the bond of a common friendship, so also should a government and its people be knit together in like manner".[2] Further, he reminded the Government that it had kept itself as isolated from the people of India as if it had been the fire and they the dry grass, and as if it thought that were the two brought into contact, the latter would be burnt up.[3]

Sir Syed's consideration upon the causes of the Mutiny had convinced him that "unless friendly intercourse and contact between the two nations were developed and the two nations came to understand the actual thought of each other, mutual understanding, sincerity and confidence were not likely to develop".[4]

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1. Strachey, op. cit., p.263.
2. Sir Syed, The Causes of the Indian Revolt, p.38.
3. ibid.
4. Hali, Hayat, p.388.

But such contact -- which as an individual he sought to make -- was unlikely to be achieved while both the English and the Anglo-Indian papers made Muslim disloyalty their most popular theme. One of his early publications, therefore, was the magazine The Loyal Mohamadan of India (only three numbers appeared), designed to refute the charge against the loyalty of the Muslims. Through this magazine he also tried to excite the gratitude of Muslims by enumerating the blessings of the British Government.[1]

In 1860 famine broke out in the North-Western Provinces. Sir John Strachey, who was then Collector at Moradabad, entrusted the famine relief to Sir Syed. That Sir Syed performed his work diligently and with the utmost capability is proved by the official acknowledgement of Sir John Strachey.[2] But while looking after the poor and orphans Sir Syed collided with the missionaries who used to protect them and convert them to Christianity.

The fact was that on Sir Syed's suggestion Sir John Strachey had consented that no orphan should be handed over to the missionaries. Rather Muslims and Hindus should themselves take the responsibility of looking after the orphans of their respective creeds and should assure

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1. Sir Syed, The Loyal Mohamedans of India, Part 1, p.8.
2. "I wish to place upon record my sense of admirable services rendered by Syud Ahmed Khan, Principal Sudder Ameen of Moradabad. Mr. Shakespear, Mr. J.C. Colvin, and the other members of the Committee, will agree with me when I say that, to his constant care and energy is due almost the whole of the success that has been obtained. Syud Ahmed has had the practical superintendence of everything from the commencement of operations, and it would be a neglect of duty on my part were I to omit to bring to the notice of the Govt. the excellent services which he has rendered. I have seen no other native of this country who, I believe, could have exhibited the same intelligence who would have shewn such untiring zeal, or who would have taken upon himself the almost ceaseless toil which Syud Ahmed has gone through." Strachey, "Note on the measures adopted for the relief of the poor in the District of Moradabad". Selections from the Records of Govt.of the N.W.P.Art.1, Part xxxvi, p.14, Para. 31.

the Government that in doing so they would not treat them as slaves. But before the famine work was over Sir John Strachey was transferred and a certain Mr. Power appointed as the Collector of Moradabad. Under Mr. Power the missionaries protested that they should not be denied the right to help the poor[1] as there was no guarantee that Hindus and Muslims would not misuse their authority. Their protest was not fruitless A local Committee decided that all orphans entrusted to the Hindus and Muslims should be returned to the Collectorate, from where they were given into the care of the missionaries.

Indignant, Sir Syed thought of establishing a great orphanage for Indian orphans with the help of Hindus and Muslims. But when his immediate anger had cooled, he dropped the idea, and reverted to his attempt to achieve Muslim - Christian understanding.

But he believed that a deeper political reconciliation between the Muslims and the Government - which was Christian too - could not be successfully brought about unless it was supported by religious compromise. He had seen much of the bitter controversies[2] taking place between the Muslims and the missionaries. Before the Mutiny, he himself had written some polemic pamphlets to refute the missionary charges. But after the Mutiny he realized that such was not a method to foster good feelings and sympathy. "...that", he wrote to J.M. Arnold, "could only tend to create an undesirable dissension and prejudice, opposition and rancour, between the parties, and infuriate them seriously at heart".[3] He pondered much upon the source of these unhappy disputes and concluded that most of the charges arose from an insufficient knowledge of either religion. For when he consulted many of the 'ulama they agreed that there was much similarity between the two religions. He read the verse of

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1. See Sir Syed's The Causes of the Indian Revolt, p.17, for an account of such missionary activities during the famine of 1837 in the N.W.P.
2. See pp.30-31 for Muslim-Christian hatred.
3. quoted, Arnold, Islam, p.384.

the Quran: "You will find friendly and god-fearing people among the Christians" and sincerely believed in it. He, therefore, determined to bring the meeting points between the religions to the notice of the Muslims and Christians. He set out to write a commentary upon the Bible, supporting and recognizing it from the teachings of the Quran, and to interpret particular Christian dogmas from the viewpoint of the Quran. The novelty and importance of the work were great. Sir Syed bought a special press for its publication, furnished himself with many important and valuable source books, learned Hebrew, and by 1862 had completed its first volume. As the book was intended both for the Muslims and Christians he published it in Urdu and English.

The actual commentary follows ten lengthy prolegomena, written in a scholarly way, designed to do away with the religious hatred that arose out of ignorance and prejudice. In these prolegomena, in a remarkably broad-minded tone, Sir Syed set out to raise the value of the Bible in the eyes of the Muslims and to inform the Christians of the tolerance of the Muslim religion. A typical point which he raised was the following:

> "It is not our belief", Sir Syed tried to convince the Christians, "that these books [the Scriptures] as spoken of in our holy Koran, were some other books independent of those that had obtained authority at any time whatever".[1] After thus recognizing the authenticity of

1. Sir Syed, Tab'in-ul Kalam, part 1, p.23.

the existing Bible, Sir Syed went on: "Now, we Mohamedans believe from our heart that the Toureit[1], Zuboor[2], the writings of all the Prophets[3], and the Injeel are all true and sacred records, proceeding primarily from God; and we believe further, that the Koran is the last message which came down from heaven, and that without doubt it was delivered to our Prophet Mohomud"[4].

Speaking about the belief of some Muslim 'Ulama that different kinds of corruptions (Tahrif) have crept into the Bible, Sir Syed claimed: ".... these learned doctors of our faith .... did not correctly understand the meaning of the word Tuhreef, and hence other more learned doctors of our faith have stated their deliberate conviction, that no such corruptions took place in the Scripture, and have thus rejected the opinions advanced by those above mentioned"[5].

The work was very different from the attitudes in most religious books, and there was marked antagonism to it[6]. But, as Sir Syed himself commented, it did do much to remove hatred towards the English. After commenting upon initial Muslim hostility, he went on: "But thank God, after Part 1 of my Commentary was published ..... most of them came forward to applaud and join in my faith of and respect for the Holy Scriptures, which diminished a great deal of the vague and absurd ideas they had always cherished respecting them"[7].

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1. Old Testament.
2. Psalms of David.
3. Gospels.
4. Sir Syed, Tab 'in-ul Kalam, pp. 32-3.
5. ibid., p.69. (Biruni, Ibn Hazm, etc., understood the meaning of Tahrif as real alteration of the text by the Jews and Christians, but other Muslim 'ulema such as Taburi, Fakhr al Din al Razi, Ibn Khaldun restricted it to erroneous interpretations of the text. See the meanings of the word Tahrif.
6. For instance, see a certain Muhammad Abd ur Rahman's Talif fi Isbat ul Tahrif (Exposition of Alteration in the Scriptures) Deli, 1873.
7. Sir Syed's letter to J.M.Arnold, Islam, p.384.

(It is interesting to note how Sir Syed's efforts at reconciliation were taken by the Christians. J.M. Arnold, to whom Sir Syed had written the letter quoted above, stated: "The Commentary, asserting as it does the authority of the Bible, and proving such from the Koran itself, in opposition to the hitherto assumed corruption of the Christian Scriptures, deserves to be translated into every tongue spoken by Moslems, especially into Arabic; for it would tend to raise the Bible in their estimation to the same level as the Koran. If this be done by the Moslems themselves, it will demand little ingenuity or zeal on our part to prove that if the Bible be true, the Koran must be false".[1])

There is no doubt that it was Sir Syed's first effort to remove Muslim-Christian hatred, and he succeeded at least in getting favourable results with Muslims, and prepared them to learn English language and English sciences, and later to be loyal to the British.

It was in Moradabad in 1861 that Sir Syed's wife died. He was only forty-three years old and had three children to look after, yet he determined not to marry again. This decision was based both on the deep attachment he had had for his wife and on his love for his people, to whose reform he decided to devote his life.

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1. Arnold, op. cit., pp. 384-5.

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At Ghazipur and Aligarh
1862 - 1869

While Sir Syed was working from within the Muslim community, to make it more receptive to Western ideas and institutions, the external pressures upon Muslim society were also increasing. Sir Syed, who was to move to Ghazipur in 1862 -- a place he found much more congenial and much more liberal -- thus found that outside events were working for him in his efforts to change Muslim attitudes.

During the years which immediately followed the Mutiny, the means of communication such as roads, railways and telegraph spread rapidly. "The important lines of communication had been under construction for many years, but after the Mutiny, the Government of India resolved that the work should be prosecuted with more vigour to completion".[1] All parts of the country were thus subjected more closely to British influence.

Administrative changes led in like fashion to a greater impact of Western ideas and a close contact with English officials.

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1. Report of Proceedings in the Public Work Department, during the official year 1861-2, p.46.

Thus a uniform police system was introduced under the Police Act of 1861 for the whole of British India. "The higher officers of the new service ..... were all Englishmen".[1] The old Supreme Courts of Appeal and the Lower Courts of the Company were amalgamated and High Courts of Judicature were established, and English Law took the place of other forms of Law.[2] In the Colleges of Agra and Delhi, the Oriental Departments were done away with and in their place the English language was introduced.[3]

All these changes created a sudden and growing demand for more competent servants - competent in English that is - in all departments of Government administration. Indeed "the indents for competent English clerks ..... were frequent and urgent".[4] Candidates of very low academic qualification were often appointed and paid handsome

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1. Woodruff, The Men who ruled India, The Guardians, pp. 53-4.
2. Act 1864 repealed the Muslim Law completely.
3. Cann, Memorandum attached to a letter No. 2479, dated March 24, 1868, pp. 3-4, Enclosure No. 15 of 1869, 30th Nov. 1869, Education, Home Dept. Collection to Educational Despatches, N.W.P. No. 14.
4. Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1861-62, p.32.

salaries.

The process of change can well be studied in the Education Department of the North-Western Provinces which was placed in 1862 under the direction of M. Kempson, an able graduate from Cambridge. He was given an increased grant for the provinces and was asked to come forward with definite proposals for changes in the provincial educational system.[1]

The views of the new Director on the revolutionary possibilities of school instruction come out clearly in his first report. "It aims at furnishing the learner with the power of conducting the concerns of after-life (sic) with some degree of intelligence, and at relieving him from the undue influence of superstition and from the mental domination of others. The instruction given to the children is meant to produce a good effect on the parents. It is meant to show them that there is such a thing as progress, and that it is meant to exercise a moral influence on the vicinity by furnishing the neighbours with an institution, partly of their own foundation, which is worthy of their respect and interest. Is it Utopian to suppose that moral enlightenment of this kind will tend to kill those unseen seeds of political danger which render the successful government of the country a problem? ..... That changes, at present undefinable, are in operation among the masses is apparent to every observant officer of the Government. Be the causes what they may, it is the duty of Government to give these changes a

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1. Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1861-62, p.32.

direction with more direct earnestness, and a securer feeling that the impulse is, politically speaking, advisable.[1]

To popularise Government institutions and so through guided education to achieve these desirable social and political ends, Kempson suggested the following measures: an extension of grants-in-aid, the encouragement of vernacular literature, preferential appointment of students from Government schools to Government departments, and the creation of a legal profession by starting law classes in higher institutions.[2]

All these measures were put through in subsequent years. As a result two tendencies became very prominent. English studies were vigorously taken up and the vernaculars Hindi and Urdu progressed by leaps and bounds.

Schools in which English was taught, whether Missionary or Government, were overcrowded, and private efforts for teaching English were also made. In many places the townspeople combined to subscribe the funds necessary for securing the services of English teachers. One Circle Inspector of these Provinces, Major Pearson, reported to the Director of the years 1860-61: "The desire for instruction in English has not in any way abated, since my representation of this to you in the early part of the last year. On Government sanctioning an allowance for four English masters, at the rate of Rs. 15 a month each, on the condition that Rs. 10 were added by private subscription

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1. Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1861-2 p.13.
2. ibid, p.32.

and that a class was formed of no less than 30 boys, paying a monthly fee of 8 annas (so that the teachers' salary should not be less than Rs. 40 a month), these terms were immediately accepted by the Etah Tahsili school and the Tahsili school at Ooryah, Phuphoond and Juswantnuggur, in the Etawa district. Besides these, there are English classes in the Futtehpurh Tehsili school, and in the Tahsili schools of Futtehpore Sikri, Ferozabad and Tajgunge, in the Agra district, the masters' salaries being provided by fees with some assistance from the Hulkabundi fund. Assistance from Government is still sought for, and with it I could establish English classes in a dozen other schools immediately.[1]

This demand for the English language, and the consequence of the Mutiny, relegated the Persian language and the indigenous schools to the background. Many such schools, closed during the Mutiny, could not retain their places even after the crisis had subsided. Others, opened at the establishment of peace, closed one after another in subsequent years. By 1859, only two academic years after the Mutiny, 466 schools, in which some 3461 children had been receiving their education, had failed and closed - and this from the number of schools open to Government inspection alone.[2] The Government effort to popularise Western sciences and ideas was not confined to an extension of Government schools and grants. The Government Book Depot, established in 1846, had by now prepared a

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1. quoted by Reid, Report on the State of Popular Education for the year 1860-1, p.10.
2. Report on Popular Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1858-9, p.25, from a tabular statement.

a number of pamphlets "excellent of their kind, and on all subjects likely to interest and improve the Native mind".[1] Newspapers were issued with the financial help of the Government. In 1861 Government patronage was extended to seven Hindi and Urdu newspapers. 960 copies were taken for distribution in Government College and schools. One Urdu newspaper the Aftab-i 'alam-tab had attained a circulation of 425 and reached Burma, Nepal and Rajputana.[2]

Educated Indians - particularly those who were themselves English educated - furthered Government efforts to diffuse Western knowledge. In 1861 one Babu Ramkali Chaudhri, suggested to a few native gentlemen, products of English Colleges and Schools "that a Society be formed of which each member should select the particular branch of knowledge for which he had most liking or in which his reading had chiefly lain, and that after carefully studying that subject for a given number of days (15) he should draw up a Lecture upon it embodying the results of his researches and study during the period, and then read it in his turn at the meeting of the Society".[3] The motive was to enable educated native gentlemen to study one subject thoroughly, and also to have at the same time a bird's eye view or working knowledge of other subjects and so to advance and complete the superstructure of which the foundation was generally laid in Schools, Colleges and Universities.[4] The society

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1. Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1861-62, . .
2. Report on the State of Popular Education ; 1861-2, P 38
3. The Transaction of the Benares Institute for the Session 1864-5, p.5.
4. ibid., pp. 5-6.

was formed and named the Benares Institute.

Efforts were also being made to develop Hindi and Urdu, the vernaculars of the Hindus and the Muslims. Government schools in which mainly the vernaculars were taught came into prominence within a short time. By 1859-60, in the Government halqabandi schools the Director found "an increase in the number of boys reading Urdu and Nagri".[1] The progress of Urdu was particularly remarkable. Raja Siva Prasad, a Kayasth, who at a later period, influenced by the Hindu revival movement, opposed Urdu, wrote at this time: "Urdu is now becoming our mother tongue, and is spoken more or less well or badly by all in the North-Western Provinces".[2] The Director of Public Instruction himself noted that "the language is gaining vigour and pliability".[3]

From all this commotion, as has been noted before, the upper classes of the towns and the Muslims as a class were generally absent. If the upper classes were not attracted to the Government schools there was nothing to be surprised about. Government education, intended for the masses, avoided almost deliberately all of their demands. Those subjects which were favourites among them were not included nor was education of any substantial type imparted in the schools. Government schools were not even usually

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1. Report on the State of Popular Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1859-60, p.46.
2. Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1863-4, p.7, fn.
3. ibid., p.7.

to be found in cities and towns where these classes resided ....[1] Again, the fact that the lowest of the castes, such as the Chamar, were admitted to Government schools was highly objectionable to the upper classes.

The aloofness of the upper classes from the Government system of education created an impression of antagonism towards Government education in the mind of the Director of Public Instruction, a very important official who played a leading part in the formation of the Government's school policy. Unfortunately for the Muslims and a section of the Hindus, he made it a point to make them regret their pride. In his very first report he stressed the importance of ".... stricter and more definite orders" to be issued to officers making appointments, even to the lowest posts, that they choose only those who could produce a certificate from the Deputy Inspector.[2]

A year later in 1862-3, having had a better chance of studying the circumstances, Kempson dwelt further on the same topic. He insisted upon introducing a competitive system which would on the one hand incite the upper classes to educate their children at Government schools (and thus lower their pride) and on the other would reward those who had been educated at Government schools.

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1. Report on the State of Popular Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1861-2, p.41. "For a large number of the 231 cities and towns situated in the 6 Divisions (Delhi, Agra, Rohilkund, Meerut, Allahabad, Benares) marginally noted, containing, according to the census of 1853, a population of 3½ millions, there is no Government or Missionary School. There are many schools of the old inefficient type, which we strive to improve, but seldom with much chance of success. Very little has been done towards providing this large population with better means of instruction".
2. Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1861-62, p.21.

This plan of the Director of Public Instruction was not without prejudice against the upper classes, and as a reaction, as has been seen, people began to make independent efforts for their own enlightenment. Sir Syed, on account of his knowledge of the West, however imperfect, surpassed most of his contemporaries in his understanding of what needed to be done. On account of his competence and perseverance he soon became the central figure among such people. He had been thinking, after the experience he got at the poorhouse, of opening a great orphanage, but soon he dismissed the idea. In Ghazipur his first effort was towards the establishment of a school for English language teaching, for he had resolved to introduce English ideas and the English language among them. It is probable that Sir Syed consulted his English friends, such as John Strachey, who was Lieutenant Governor in the North-West Provinces. It is also probable that Sir Syed was encouraged by the after-Mutiny change of policy of the Government towards the native chiefs. Instead of ignoring completely the upper classes, as the British Government had done ever since it had gained possession of these areas, it had resolved now to conciliate them and "to form a bond of union between them and the Executive officers of the Government and at the same time to secure the exercise of their influence on the side of the Government".[1]

Luckily, on May 12, 1862, Sir Syed was transferred to Ghazipur. Though only half the size and population of Moradabad district,

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1. Report on Administration, N.W.P., for the year 1860-1861, p.35.

Ghazipur proved a more congenial field for his educational activities. There the Muslims - and Hindus - were less conservative than those of Moradabad, the reason obviously being that Ghazipur had long been a trade centre[1] where people coming from outside brought with them new thoughts and ideas to broaden the outlook of the local inhabitants. The people were generally alive to the urgent need for modern education, as was evident from their effort to make private arrangements for the tuition of their children.[2] The upper class, consisting of Brahmans, Rajputs and Muslims, was quite large and well off. Many estates of considerable size were owned by Brahmans both resident and otherwise.[3] The middle-class Muslims were even better off than the Hindus belonging to the same strata. Describing the economic position of the Muslim population in the Ghazipur district, H.R. Nevill observed in his Gazetteer of Ghazipur: "Of much more importance are the Sheiks, of whom 14,187 were enumerated, and their property, which is remarkably large for a district containing a comparatively small Muhammadan element .... Descendants (of Sayyid Masaud Ghazi) are the Saiyids of Nonahra, many of whom have risen to responsible positions under Muhammadan rule as well as under the British Government". The local inhabitants interested in education were dissatisfied to see that Ghazipur had not been put on the list of districts of the North-Western Provinces where the Government proposed to open educational

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1. Statistical Descriptive and Historical Account of the N.W.P. of India, vol. XIII, part II, Ghazipur, p.70.
2. Sir Syed, Speech at the foundation ceremony of Ghazipur School dated March 11, 1864, Muk. Maj., p.16.
3. Nevill, A Gazetteer of Ghazipur, Vol. XXIX, p.107.

institutions. The Government argued that "there was no need for a school at Ghazipur itself since the wants of the town were supplied by the mission school which dated from 1853".[1] But the middle-class Hindus and Muslims were alike reluctant to send their children to this school, and wanted to have private institutions of their own. Though they could not manage to open a regular school, they had "kept up for some time an English teacher and a Moulvi, and had issued an address, which met with no response, to their fellow citizens to come forward with the necessary funds for keeping on a Pandit".[2]

Sir Syed, who already had experience at Moradabad of how ready people were to co-operate in any effort to make private arrangements for their education, decided to continue his educational work by founding a high school at Ghazipur with the co-operation of the influential persons of the district. When he was planning the establishment of the school the missionaries took his activities to be in rivalry to theirs and greatly opposed his efforts. So much so "that except Mr. Sapte, Judge at Ghazipur and Colonel Graham, District Superintendent of Police, all the officers turned in favour of the missionaries. But ultimately Sir Syed succeeded in establishing the School".[3] Mr. Sapte tried to lessen the doubts of the Missionaries in the speech he made at the time of laying the foundation stone of the School. He said: "The schools already existing

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1. ibid.p. 70.
2. Sir Syed, Speech at Ghazipur School dated March 11, 1864, Muk. Maj., p.16.
3. Hali, Hayat, vol. 2, p.268.

in this place are well and numerously attended, but there is room for more. There is no need that one institution should interfere with another -- the best will, of course, have the greatest success; and a spirit of emulation between the pupils of, I will not say rival, but similar, institutions, will not only do no harm, but tend very considerably to the advance of all".[1] But Sir Syed's difficulties were not over yet. Hali explains that though many Hindu and Muslim landholders had been desirous of seeing a school established at Ghazipur, yet, firstly, there was no one who could be trusted by all to ensure the safety of the money contributed for the purpose, and secondly, Muslims in particular had a lingering suspicion of English as a subject. Sir Syed removed these two difficulties and started collecting small subscriptions.[2]

The expenditure for the establishment of the school had been estimated at Rs. 80,000 and the foundation stone was laid when Rs. 17,300 had been collected.[3] Sir Syed took great care to draw the attention of as wide a public as possible. He especially invited the English officers and officials to attend the opening ceremony and made it as attractive as possible. Mr. M. Kempson described the ceremony thus: "The principal Native gentlemen of Ghazipur .... determined on building a college...., a large Meeting took place in a tent pitched on the site of the proposed College. The English

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1. Sapte, Speech, Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1863-4, Appendix B, p.B2.
2. Hali, Hayat, vol. 1, p.122.
3. Muk. Maj., p.22.

residents of the Station were also well represented, having been specially invited to attend.... Seats were laid out in rows all round the tent, and 562 Native gentlemen paid for places. Besides these there was a great crowd of Natives within the enclosure, anxious to get a glimpse of the proceedings. Mr. B. Sapte took the Chair at half past four P.M. and delivered a speech ... (and) laid the first corner stone. The Hon'ble Deonarian Singh, Moulvi Mahomed Yaseen, and Thakoor Dutt Pandit then laid their respective corner stones and the ceremony was complete .... Fire-works and Native music terminated the proceedings".[1]

The School was named Victoria College. The college was definitely an advance upon Sir Syed's Moradabad School, at least in one respect. Then, Sir Syed had shown he was aware of the growing need for Western sciences. He now showed his awareness of the importance of the English language for both educational and political purposes.[2] (There were, moreover, other necessities of daily life that all the while made a knowledge of English imperative). With this in view, when he founded Victoria College he included the study of English in its curriculum. Speaking at the foundation day ceremony he emphasised the educational, political and other benefits of a study of the English language. "Gentlemen, the decision of the British Government that Natives of India should be eligible for

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1. M. Kempson, Director of Public Instruction N.W.P., Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P., 1863-64, Appendix B, pp.1, 6.
2. See his speech to the Literary Society, Calcutta, quoted p. 119 infra.

a seat in the Viceroy's Council .... is a memorable incident in the history of India..... The day is not far distant, when that Council will be composed of representatives from every division or district..... but we see that it cannot come to pass unless we strive to educate ourselves .... The only way to avail ourselves of the many roads to fame and usefulness is to cultivate our intellects and to conform ourselves to the age ..... I would specially call your attention to the urgent necessity there is for studying English. Leaving out of consideration the good service and honorable appointments which may be obtained, it may be said that without English commercial transactions cannot be successfully conducted, a desirable association with our rulers effected, or the spirit of the Acts and Orders of Government thoroughly understood. Without English we are ignorant of passing events, nay, if we go a journey by railway, we hardly know what door to get in by, or what door to get out by .... Understand, then, how necessary it is for us to study English".[2]

The aim of the School was to give a sound education and to enable the pupils to earn a respectable livelihood and to hold the highest positions in the administration of the country. Therefore it was sought to make its curriculum as useful for academic purposes as for the material ends of day-to-day life. Besides the courses approved for the Government Schools, special arrangements were made

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1. It is from 1861 that an Indian element has taken part in the making of laws for India.
2. Sir Syed, Speech at Ghazipur Victoria College, March 11, 1864, Muk. Maj, p.18.

for the teaching of five languages: English, Arabic, Sanscrit, Persian and Urdu. (Hindi was not on the list. This helps to make it clear that Sir Syed was not concerned with the Hindus, though he was quite ready to co-operate with those Hindus who had adopted the Mughal culture). Every student had the choice of studying "any one or all of the five languages".[1] Equal importance was also attached to religious teaching, something which had been avoided in Government schools. "Books of all creeds will be studied, be they Christian, Mohammadan, or Hindu, if the students desire to do so".[2] But religious education had not to retard in any way the teaching of the prescribed curriculum. "Certain rules have been drawn up which would regulate the expenses of this branch of education". As for the general administration of the school "two important offices had been created: The Patron and the Visitor."[3] A Committee had also been formed for the school's management. "The Committee for the general management of the institution had been formed solely and entirely of Natives".[4] Nevertheless it had been allowed to "elect such English gentlemen as take a warm interest in mental and social improvement".[5]

In order to satisfy the educational authorities as to its general efficiency and standard of education, the School was kept open to the inspection of the Director of Public Instruction, who

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1. ibid.
2. ibid.
3. p.20. The first Patron and Visitor o f the College was the Honorable Raja Dev Narain Singh Bahadur.
4. ibid. p.20.
5. ibid. p.20.

was requested to visit the School,to examine the students, and to to distribute prizes to the successful candidates,

Hali relates that Sir Syed intended to take the School to the level of a College,but before he could make a successful attempt at that he was transferred to Aligarh in April I864. However,it continued to work with efficiency and was given a Government grant-in-aid. In I872,it was divided into two sections,"a department which educates up to the Entrance Examination,Calcutta University, and a department which gives a high school standard of oriental education"[1]

In the same year the word school was substituted for College, under which new name it still exists to commemorate its founder.

It is now necessary,after surveying the progress of the Ghazipur school,to return to other educational work which Sir Syed began there in I863,namely,the Translation Society. (This actually came into existence a month before the foundation stone of the school was laid).At Moradabad he had introduced into his school one new subject--history. At Ghazipur he wanted to make provision for a more general diffusion of Western sciences. He therefore resolved to found a Translation Society as well as a high school.He was the first Indian Muslim who had thought of and formed - a society.[3]

I. M. Kempson,Director of Public Instruction,to Govt. N.W.P.No.(733F), 22nd August I873,Proceedings of the Governmentof N.W.P Oct.I873,p.95.
2. Sherwani,Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration, 2nd ed.,p.220.
3. Graham,Life,2nd ed.,p.49.

The purpose of the Society was to acquaint the people with the new sciences of Europe through translation and lectures. (This Society later developed into the Scientific Society of Aligarh). How this purpose should be achieved was laid down explicitly in the speech Sir Syed made on 6th October 1863 before the Literary Society of Calcutta. He said, "The reason why we are all so backward nowadays, is that whilst we are learned in and have benefited by the philosophy, sciences and arts of antiquity, we are almost entirely ignorant of those of modern times. Many grand works have been written in the German, French and other languages. These are all to be found translated into English. England has produced as many, if not more, grand works than other nations. Now, as we are not likely to become proficient in German, French, etc., as we have all their learned works in the English tongue, and as Hindustan is now governed by the English, I think it is very clear that English is the language to which we ought to devote our attention. Is there any prejudice that prevents us from learning it? No, it cannot be so with us. Such a thing is only said by those who do not know us. No religious prejudices interfere with our learning any language spoken by any of the many nations of the world".[1] But as he hoped to reach an audience wider than any he had yet addressed, and to diffuse a wider range of knowledge, Sir Syed had to reconsider the problem of the medium of instruction. Rather surprisingly, in view

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1. quoted by Graham, Life, 2nd ed., p.51.

of his choice of Persian as the medium of instruction at Moradabad and his categorical opposition to the use of Urdu in Government schools, Sir Syed at Ghazipur chose Urdu. Since the western sciences were totally unknown to most Indians, translation from English could be made either into the classical languages, Sanskrit and Persian, or into the vernacular. He chose Urdu because of its wide use by the people.

Membership was open to all; but the heavy subscription -- at the rate of Rs. 2 per month - in practice confined it to the well-to-do persons interested in educational and academic affairs.[1] Yet it is reported to have attracted a good number of people, though they mostly belonged to the landed classes. It also succeeded in winning the sympathy and support of some Englishmen, who were also numbered among its members. To his great satisfaction, his friend Graham secured for the Society the patronage of the Duke of Argyll "the first English Duke who ever lent the encouragement of his name to a society founded by an Indian gentleman."[2] Thus the Society acquired more significance and fame than any of the other societies which sprang up in those days. When on Sir Syed's transfer to Aligarh in 1864, the Society's head-quarters shifted with him, Mr. Bramley the judge at Aligarh, consented to become its President. Through the efforts of Sir Syed and Mr. Bramley, a piece of land was allotted by the Government on which to construct the Society's buildings, and their foundation stone was laid by Mr. E.Drummond,

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1. A list of the members of the Society is attached as appendix IV.
2. ibid. p.54.

then Lt. Governor of the North-Western Provinces. Soon the Library and Institute Hall were erected, Mr. Bramley alone contributing an amount of Rs. 10,000 for this purpose. The work of the Society was carried on with great enthusiasm; books were selected and translated; scientific apparatus was purchased worth thousands of rupees; regular lectures on scientific topics were arranged; a reading room was opened for the public.

On 29th January, 1864, at the first meeting of the Society, held at his house, Sir Syed pointed out the sciences which he wanted to introduce to his people through translations and the principles he had in view in selecting the works for the purpose.

He said that for Indians the most important subject to be studied was ancient and modern history. His own study of history had helped him five years ago in estimating correctly the position held by the English and by the Mughals; he wished to introduce it on a larger scale to his countrymen. He valued history for its teaching power, as an account of the past and present events, and also as a record of the means and manners by which infant nations had progressed in the past and by which even the most advanced had been beaten by others still more rapidly progressing. It was also important as an indicator of those causes which worked towards the decline and fall of the once most civilized nations. Sir Syed was so convinced of the all-round teaching power of history in the career of a nation that he claimed: "If, in 1856, the natives of India had known anything of the mighty power which England possesses, -- a power which would have impressed the misguided men of the Bengal army with the

knowledge of how futile their efforts to subvert the empire of Her Majesty in the East would be, -- there is little doubt but that the unhappy events of 1857 would never have occurred".[1] But to achieve the desired results, Sir Syed assured his audience, it was necessary that history should be studied in detail with that "full description of the morals, virtues and vices of nations which, in my opinion, is necessary .... in order to confer any real benefit on the native mind".[2] And he suggested the Society might commence its work with M. Rollin's book on the ancient races, "in which are admirably described their discovery of, and improvements on, the arts and sciences; as also their laws and systems of government, together with their virtues and vices";[3] ..... we may with truth designate the Greeks as the school-masters of the world in their own and also in succeeding ages. But we in India know nothing of their former state of barbarism, or the means by which they raised themselves to the position which we know they attained, and we are also ignorant of what conduced to bringing about the prosperity of Europe, which now so far excels the Greeks of ancient days".

Sir Syed, in referring to Greek barbarism, and then to the way in which European science had outdistanced that of the Greeks, as well as to the world's debt to Greece, was deliberately aiming at breaking the spell of Greek philosophy on Muslim minds. The belief that Greek philosophy was a final, self-contained system was common among Muslims -- Sir Syed attacked this attitude so as to liberate their minds for a study of progressive sciences of the West.

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1. quoted by Graham, Life, 2nd ed., p.51.
2. ibid. p.53.
3. ibid. p.53.

After history, Sir Syed asserted the importance of introducing natural philosophy. For a country such as India, he asserted, a study of those sciences which indicated "the principles on which the cultivation of the soil ought to be conducted, or of the many new inventions for improving their acres" was very urgent.[1] He pointed out that the existing deficiency in the productive capabilities of the soil (of India) was due to a considerable extent to the ignorance of the natives of the principles of improving it. As a philanthropic political leader he could not ignore the great necessity of improving the agricultural system, and of introducing Western discoveries in that field.

The third subject on which Sir Syed recommended that works ought to be translated and introduced to the Indian public was political economy. The study of the administration of one's own country, he maintained, was necessary for personal welfare and prosperity. On account of their ignorance, he pointed out, the people "do not know how to manage their affairs, how to so apply their present wealth that it may increase ten fold, and at the same time relieve other countries by letting loose their capital, and not burying it in their houses".[2] For the study of this subject, he selected Mill's Political Economy.[3]

These, then, were the three main fields in which he proposed that the Scientific Society should operate. From the very beginning of his public career he had believed that the backwardness of the Indians was due to their ignorance of these branches of knowledge. When he went to

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1. quoted by Graham, Life, 2nd Ed., pp. 53-54.
2. ibid., p.54.
3. ibid., p.54. Sir Syed felt that, "From a want of knowledge of political economy... They/people/ do not know that the revenue is collected for their own benefit, and not for that of Government." ibid. p.54

Calcutta in 1863 to give publicity to the object of his Society, he complained,in his address to a meeting of the Literary Society of Calcutta,of the Muslims' satisfaction with the old knowledge-- and ignorance of the new. The task before the nwwly established institution-- that of dispelling such ignorance-- he held to be so important that in his devotion to it he was prepared to postpone even the composition of the Tab'in ul Kalam. "As a well-wisher of my country-men", he told his Calcutta audience, "I have been spending upon it my days and nights,my time and energy and whatever money I possess". He presented to the Society the press he had purchased for the printing off his Tab'in ul Kalam and the ring worth Rs.1,000 which had been given to him by Begum Sikander Jahan,the ruler of Bhopal,for his educational activities. He started Law classes,and whatever amount he could collect in tuition fees he donated tb the Society. After setting it satisfactorily in motion, Sir Syed then started making efforts to secure permanent sources of income for the Society so that it might carry on its work smoothly and conduct its policy independently. He corresponded with the Government and in August 1866 the Government agreed to make "a yearly advance of Rs.500", to be repaid in works produced by the Society. In 1867, during the Daserah (holiday),he came to Aligarh from Benares,to where he had that year been posted,and appealed to the landholders there to make some arrangements for a permanent income for the Society,as it still

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1. Hali, Hayat, vol.1.p.121.
2. See pp.94-96. supra.
3. Speech dated Oct.6,1863, Muk.Maj.p.14.
4. Hali, Hayat, vol.1, pp.125-6.
5. Letter from the Govt. of N.W.P. to the Govt. of India, dated Dec.9, 1868, No.2279A, Home Dept. Ed.Dept. Despatch 2 of 1870, Collections to Despatches, vol.13.
6. A Hindu festival.

had none.[1] Many landholders individually agreed to subscribe one rupee per year for every village whose revenues they enjoyed in Aligarh District for the establishment of the Society. They also agreed to insert conditions providing for this arrangement in the Settlement papers so that their descendants might not raise objections to the arrangement in future. At a meeting of the Society of October 12th, 1867, Sir Syed secured the landholders' assent to the compilation of a list of their names and of the 133 villages involved, which was then sent with a covering letter to George Henry Lawrence, the Collector of Aligarh district, with the request that he would report the matter to the Government after due certification. (Of the fate of this proposal no details are known except that Hali refers to a letter from the Private Secretary of the Governor General, October, 18, 1867, recording the Viceroy's approval of the suggestion).[2] However, Sir Syed did later succeed in securing permanent annual subsidies of Rs.150 from Rampur state, Rs.50 from Jaipur, Rs.600 from Koil Municipality, and Rs. 166 from the revenue of the Company Gardens in Lucknow.[3]

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1. Sir Syed did not consider the government-grant as a permanent income.

2. Hali, Hayat, vol.1, p.137.
3. A.I.G. Feb.25, 1876.

In December 1867, Edmond Drummond, the Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces, who three years earlier had laid the foundation stone of the Society's building, expressed his satisfaction over the achievements of the Society in the following words. "It is very gratifying to find so much of life and progress in the history of your Society, and that the active and healthy spirit which originated this Institute has not, as too frequently occurs, departed with the individual influence to which it partly owed its birth, but that, in its present condition and prospects, there are fair grounds to anticipate its prolonged and durable usefulness."

"The liberal aid which the Society has received from the representatives of property in this and the neighbouring districts is a cheering token of the spread of right and liberal feeling, and is most creditable ..... It has been my wish to popularize as much as possible our present system of education, and I would recognize the aid you have rendered in this direction."[1]

Only six months later Sir William Muir, who had succeeded Drummond as Lieutenant Governor, had occasion to visit the Society. He too was very much impressed by the zeal and energy of the organizers who within so short a period had founded and set in operation the Institute. He said: "It is difficult to express the pleasure we feel when looking at this beautiful building. The building is excellent, there is sufficient apparatus, the library is

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1. Selections from Speeches of the Lieutenant -Governors of the N.W.P. from 1867 to 1891, pp. 12-13.

well stocked, English, Arabic, Persian and Urdu books all find a place, the fittings necessary for the building's decoration are also present. Four years back when we had an occasion to pass this place there were not even the foundations of this building here".[1]

After the building had been constructed and the preliminary arrangements made, the Society started to work regularly. As one of the main objectives of the Society was the translation of an essential body of European works, and because Sir Syed gave most importance to history, "first of all translation was started of Elphinstone's History of India. Parts of it began to be published and distributed among its Members. Elphinstone, before he commenced the account of the Muslims' Government in India, in describing the advent of Islam and the birth of the Prophet in Arabia had used the word "false" Prophet for him.[2] The phrase was translated without any modification into Urdu. Sir Syed merely gave a foot-note contradicting the author's statement, supported by quotations from George Sale's translation of the Quran and its preface and from the history of Tabri. But these notes could not lessen the resentment of the Muslims. When this part of the History reached the Members of the Society, Maulvi Sami 'ullah Khan (of whom we shall say more later) violently objected that a translation of such an epithet should have been made by the Society. He published, in many newspapers, a statement in which he condemned Sir Syed as an infidel

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1. Muir, Ba'z Irshadat, p.24.
2. Elphinstone, The History of India, vol. 1, p.491.

on account of the publication of the epithet "false" in connection with the Prophet. He also asserted that persons joining the Society would also become infidels. Consequently, many orthodox Muslims resigned from the Society.

Not entirely disheartened by this repulse, Sir Syed made the Society carry on its work. The translation of Elphinstone's history was completed and published in 1867.[1] By 1869 the Society had succeeded in translating several other of the books most important from the Society's point of view, such as Rollin's History - the section relating to Egypt and Greece and his History of China; a Tract on Agriculture; Mill's Political Economy, Harris's Rudimentary Electricity; and Wilkinson's Geography.[2]

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1. M. Kempson, the Director of Public Instruction, remarked in his Report about this book: "The Aligarh Society's translation of Elphinstone's History of India is a good one. The author's meaning is faithfully expressed, though often circuitously. This book is too dear to be popular, even were it likely to be welcome in itself. Mr. Elphinstone's introductory handling of the Hindu and Musalman religious tenets is too destructive in its tendency to be acceptable to bigots of either creed". Kempson, Publications Registered in the N.W.P. during 1868, p.96.
2. A number of these books are available in the India Office Library and the British Musium.

By 1875, it had translated, printed and published "twenty-seven works from English into Urdu".[1] Of these, the works of Mill and Senior on Political economy, Elphinstone's History of India, Burn's work on agriculture, and Harris' treatise on electricity, had greatly enriched the scientific literature of India. Besides these, an excellent and complete series of seventeen books on Pure Mathematics, consisting of the works of Todhunter, Barnard Smith, Galbraith and Haughton which formed the main body of textbooks used in English Universities, had also been translated to facilitate the study of mathematics by Indian students. In Sir Syed's words: "There is scarcely a college, school or Normal School in these Provinces, Oudh and the Punjab where these books are not studied privately by students". It was still more gratifying to know, he added, that "the teachers of some of the Arabic schools, where

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1. The 27 works were the following: (i) Ancient History of Egypt; (ii) History of China; (iii) Rollin, Ancient History of Greece; (iv) Scott Burn, Modern Farming; (v) William Senior, Political Economy; (vi) Elphinstone, History of India; (vii) Harris, Electricity; (viii) Wilkinson, Geography, compiled from various English books; (ix) Mill, Political Economy, selections; (x) Sir John Malcolm, History of Persia; (xi) Todhunter, Mensuration; (xii) Todhunter, Trigonometry; (xiii) Todhunter, Algebra for Beginners; (xiv) Todhunter, Theory of Equations; (xv) Galbraith, Arithmetic; (xvi) Galbraith and Haughton, Scientific Mahual Euclid; (xvii) Galbraith, and Haughton, Scientific Algebra; (xviii) Todhunter, Euclid; (xix) Bernard Smith, Arithmetic for Schools; (xx) Bernard Smith, Algebra for Schools; (xxi) Galbraith, Arithmetic; (xxii) Galbraith, Plain Trigonometry; (xxiii) Todhunter, Algebra for Colleges and Schools; (xxiv) Todhunter, Plain co-ordinate Geometry; (xxv) Todhunter, Integral Calculus; (xxvi) Syed Khairuddin, Aqwamul Masalik, from Arabic into Persian, (xxvii) Todhunter's Differential calculus. Graham, Life, 1st ed.p.83.

2. A.I.G., 22nd Jan., 1875, pp. 54-55.
Address presented to Sir John Strachey, Lieut.-Governor, N.W.P., by the members of the Scientific Society.

instruction is still imparted on the old Asiatic system, have introduced these books for instruction in Mathematics instead of the old Arabic and Persian works on that science"[1].

In 1870, moreover, the Society, by publishing a list of standard works suitable for translation, a list drawn up by Sir Syed in England, prompted the Government to offer financial and other rewards for the translation of scientific works.

However, despite this considerable early success, the Society failed in the end to provide buyers for its works on Greek philosophy or Western history and science. It was partly that some of the works renewed Muslim prejudice, partly, as R. Griffith, the Principal of the Benares College said, the effort was premature "because there was no reading public sufficiently educated to require, appreciate, or derive benefit of the works"[2].

For a while the Society proceed with its translation work at a much reduced pace. But Sir Syed's ever widening activities, and increasing demands upon the members of the Society, left less and less time for the work. From 1875 to 1898 the Society managed to translate only 19 works.

Other activities of the Society lapsed still more painfully, until Sir Syed in 1875 was complaining that though based on such

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1. A.I.S, 22nd Jan. 1875, pp.54-55.

2. Griffith, quoted by M.Kempson in letter No.1393, dated Oct.16,1868. Despatch No.2. of 1870, Collections to Ed. Despatches, vol.13.

sound principles, and with such prospects of useful works, the Society was a failure, "it is a corpse without life".[1] There was constant difficulty in getting subscriptions and the press given to the Society by Sir Syed became its main source of income.

In spite of all this, Sir Syed was so conscious of the potential usefulness and necessity of the Society that he strove to keep it alive. In order to balance its finance he cut down expenditure on the Gazette by reducing the number of copies printed, tried to realize the arrears and wrote articles to induce people to pay their subscriptions regularly. He even framed new bye-laws in 1878 which improved the financial situation a little.[2]

The Society's work in promoting the spread of Western knowledge by the translation of scientific and other works into Urdu scarcely lived up to Sir Syed's early hopes.[3] But the same objective, of diffusing Western learning, was also aimed at by the publication of the Aligarh Institute Gazette or Akhbar-i-Scientific Society, the Society's literary organ. This was the effective means whereby wide publicity was given to the Society's objectives. This it was that enabled the general public to benefit from the Society's work and indeed it became a part and parcel of the existence of the Society. It continued to promote the purposes of the Society when the Society itself had ceased to strive effectively for its objectives and it

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1. A.I.G. Nov.17,1877.
2. A.I.G., Sept.28,1878.
3. Though Sir Syed refused to let the translation work die, his own change of view, from supporting Urdu as the medium of instruction to accepting English for that purpose, undoubtedly removed much of the early impulse.

survived the death of its founder to promulgate his educational aims and ideas among his countrymen.

This weekly gazette was started on the 30th March 1866[1], three years after the Society had been established.[2] The importance of having a literary organ had always been felt ever since the foundation of the Society, as indeed had been recognized in the bye-laws, which made provision for such a publication.

One characteristic feature of the paper was that it was bilingual, with Urdu and English columns running side by side.[3] All the articles, essays and news composed in one language were simultaneously rendered into the other. This arrangement was meant to enable both the English and Indian members of the Society to contribute articles and essays to the paper and to enable the paper to reach and hold both the English-and Urdu-knowing public. Sir Syed expected that such a type of 'common' paper would help the English and the Indians to appreciate each others' thoughts and opinions and that it would bring about a mutual understanding between them.

Another characteristic feature of the Gazette was the section at the end of each issue where the historical background of significant contemporary events was given, with the editor's comments. In this way, events were illuminated by being set in perspective, and Sir

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1. Sir Syed, Khutut, letter to Muhammad Sai'd Khan, dated March 22,1866, p.232.
2. It became bi-weekly from June 1877, see the A.I.G.dated 25th May, 1877.
3. There was in the N.W.P. in 1862 one Urdu-Hindi paper. Sir Syed might have taken the idea from this paper finding it suitable for his purpose. See Report on Administration of the N.W.P. for the year 1862-3, p.91.

Syed's aim of creating a historical consciousness among his readers was further pursued. Thus at the end of the Turko-Russian war of 1878, the Gazette included a retrospective survey of its origin, progress and results, illustrated with maps. (Maps were also used to illustrate day-to-day news). There were also regular articles on historical topics - the causes of the decline of Turkey, the English coinage, the Muslims in Ceylon, etc., etc.

For its news items the Gazette relied upon extracts from the Statesman and the Englishman, then the leading English papers in Upper India. But the main feature of the paper was the regular publication, often over several issues, of educational and scientific articles. These, together with historical topics, formed the main part of the Gazette, serving, like the translations, lectures and scientific demonstrations, to familiarize the people with the new sciences of the West. In addition to scientific articles specially written for it, the Gazette also published many of the lectures on scientific topics delivered at the Institute, so widening the effective circle of the Institute audiences. Besides publishing the articles originally contributed to it, it also frequently quoted articles on these topics from other Urdu periodicals such as the Akmal-ul-Akhbar and the Najm ul-Absar and the Awadh Akhbar.[1] The educational articles were intended to emphasize the importance of education, to discuss the educational policy of the Government, and to bring to the notice of

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1. The A.I.G., 1815-78.

the public the educational conditions existing in the public and private schools and the general administration of education in the country. The majority of the articles which appeared in the Gazette, from its establishment to the death of Sir Syed, were written by Sir Syed himself. And it is truly said "The contributions of Sir Syed to the Gazette, if collected, would cover several bulky volumes".[1]

The paper was conspicuous for the complete absence of religious discussions and sectarian controversies from its columns. Sir Syed had declared that the Gazette should be expressly devoted to purely social and educational purposes.

The Gazette was also a frequent critic of the Government's policy where it affected the education of the Indians. As a result, the Director of Public Instruction first cut down, and then, in April 1877, finally stopped the Government subscription for 150 copies.[2] But this was the time when Sir Syed had just launched his movement designed to secure the Muslims' regeneration under the benevolent encouragement of the British Government. He therefore wrote to the Government promising considerably to modify the policy of the paper. Hereafter the paper worked to promulgate among the public the "beneficent intention of government relating to India".[3] The Government subscription was renewed on that express understanding[4] and hereafter the paper enjoyed Government's confidence. It also became the organ of educated Muslim opinion.

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1. Hali, Hayat, vol. 1, p.131.
2. See Sir Syed's letter to Govt. N.W.P. & Oudh (demi-official) dated 7th April 1877, Ed. Dept. Proceeding, N.W.P. & Oudh Sept.1877,p.73.
3. ibid. Appendix. V.
4. From Off. Sec. to Govt. N.W.P. & Oudh, to D.P.I. (No.263A) dated 8th August 1877, ibid. p.77.

The early success of the Scientific Society, and the sympathetic attitude of the high English officials towards it, made Sir Syed think again about persuading the Government to allow Indians a share in the administration of education of the country. As has already been stated, in 1866 he had formed a British Indian Association from among the members of the Scientific Society "to improve the efficiency of the British Indian Government and to promote its best interest by every legitimate means in the power of the Association with a view to benefit the Natives of the country and other permanent settlers in it, thereby advancing the common interest of Great Britain and India".[1] The Association did not confine itself to any one object, rather it was set up to convey to the Government the grievances and views of the people about political and social questions as they arose from time to time. The third bye-law of the Association said: "To this end, the Association shall from time to time draw the attention of the Government to redress and amend such already existing measures as appear likely to prove injurious to the interests of the country, or to adopt such other measures as may be calculated to promote those interests, whether viewed in relation to law and jurisprudence, or trade and agriculture, or the general condition of the people".[2] The first move, however, that he made through it, was on education. He felt that one possible method of exciting more largely the interest and co-operation of the people in the spread of Government education was

1. Bye-Laws of the British Indian Association N.W.P., Allygurh, 1867, p.3.
2. ibid, p.3.

to give them an opportunity to participate in its general control and supervision. For this he suggested, through the Association, a system of local educational committees consisting of education officials and Indian members. The idea of local committees was not a new one since local committees for other purposes were already in existence in the North-Western Provinces. "For many years the road fund in each district had been under the entire control of district road fund committees".[1] But before Sir Syed came to suggest it in 1866, there had been no local committees for educational affairs. The need to secure the co-operation of the local inhabitants for general educational progress was felt by the Government itself, as had been stated on July 14th, 1866 by E. Drummond, then Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces. He had "long been convinced that the most earnest efforts for the good government of the country and for the welfare of its inhabitants must fail to exercise any permanent influence for good, or have indeed any but the most superficial and transient effect until the confidence and aid of the people themselves have been secured, and it has been his anxious desire and aim to enlist the sympathies and to obtain the co-operation of the resident gentry in this country, in the general administration of affairs. Every legitimate means therefore by which this object may be promoted will ever have his cordial concurrence and support".[2]

There was yet another factor which suggested to Sir Syed the idea

1. Appendix to Education Commission Report, Report by the N.W.P. & Oudh Provincial Committee, p.40.
2. The B.I.A., No. 2, p.4-5.

of educational committees with some Indian members. The landholders of the North-Western Provinces had been contributing their share towards the educational expenditure of the province ever since 1838,[1] at the rate of one per cent over and above the original sum assessed as Land Revenue. Sir Syed thought that the landholders might justly claim a hand in the expenditure of that money. He persuaded the landholders of Aligarh to forward a petition to the Government demanding a share in the educational administration of their province. The petition was submitted, through the Association, on 10th May 1866, to George Lawrence, who was then the collector of Aligarh, They stated in the petition: "While your Petitioners pay for the expenses of education, it is obviously a hardship that they should not be allowed to take any part in the management of the system or exercise any control over the disbursement of the funds. It is very mortifying to them to find that they are not consulted on any points connected therewith and that notwithstanding their having to provide the funds they know nothing as to the manner and purposes in which those funds are expended.

"That your Petitioners beg respectfully to submit their opinion that all the money which they contribute for education at the rate of one per cent on the Jumma should, together with the sums which the Government grants or may grant in future in aid of the cause, be separately funded under the designation of Educational Fund and applied solely for the benefit of the people of that District alone

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1. See Chapter IV.

from which the contribution is raised and to which it rightfully belongs, to the exclusion of all others.

"That a Committee consisting of the Educational Officers and the District landholders and gentlemen presided over by the Collector of the District or the Commissioner of the Division should be formed for the general control and supervision of the system and for regulating the expenditure, and all matters connected with the business of education should be left to the discretion of the Committee so constituted.

"That this Committee should be required to frame a Code of Rules for the guidance of schools and should determine the amount to be granted annually for all the schools that may be existing or may hereafter be established in the Sudder Station, the Tehseels and villages of the District and allot separate funds for the maintenance of each school, and that all those measures of the Committee be officially laid before the Government and acted upon everywhere in the District after they shall have been sanctioned by the Government".[1]

The petition did not fail to receive the active support of George Lawrence, who forwarded it to the Provincial Government with his note of recommendation. It was sanctioned by the Lieutenant Governor and Aligarh and Etawa were selected to carry out the first experiment in the use of these committees. But as his orders could not be put into effect immediately, another Resolution (No. 1043)

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1. The British Indian Association, N.W.P., No.2.p.2.

was adopted on 30th March 1867 to the effect that "Local Educational Committees,composed of influential members of the community,both official and non-official,will at once be formed in every district in these Provinces,for the purpose of exercising supervisory functions over the Government schools in the district,under the control of the Director of Public Instrucion,and of co-operating generally in the promotion of education".[1]

It was "an important movement",and promised to contribute largely "to the spread of elementary education and to the best utilization of the cess".[2]

The petitioners had wanted the committees to have the power to control the funds but the provincial Government was not prepared to invest these bodies with so much authority. This it made clear to the petitioners: "The people must prove their qualifications to exercise such rights and responsibilities before they can be admitted to any share in the direct control of the administration of the State, and it is in furtherance of this object that the means of education areplaced at their disposal."[3]

The committees were not allowed any direct interference with the officers of the educational department,and were not authorised to issue any direct instruction to them.[4] And as for control over the disbursement of the funds,they were not considered yet fit for it.[5]

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1. The British Indian Association,N.W.P.No.2.p.8.
2. Howell,A.P.,Note on the State of Education in India 1866-67,p.21; Accounts and Papers 1870,vol.LII,enclosure to Despatches from the Govt. of India to the Sec. of State dated 2nd and 9th June 1868.
3. The British Indian Association,N.W.P.No.2.p.5.para 4.
4. ibid. p.8.
5. ibid. p.8.

All that they were expected to do was to meet at least once a month and to submit to the Director of Public Instruction an annual report on the state of education and the condition of schools in the District.[1][2] With no more power than this, the Committee were mere advisory bodies, unable to achieve those ends which Sir Syed originally had in view. But he was yet more disappointed to see that in practice the Indian members on these educational committees did not make full use even of those limited powers. "It is much to be regretted, however, that the Native members of the said committees, when they sit with the European and the educational authorities in the same room, look more like thieves who have entered a gentleman's house for theft, than like bold advocates of an important cause. They are, on the other hand, looked upon by their European fellow-members as men of the opposite party to defeat whom is deemed by the educational authorities, as well as by other European members, as their right established by the laws of nature .

"Thus, owing to the circumstances just noticed, the committees have been able to do nothing to amend the political error before alluded to, the management of public instruction still rests in the hands of the Government, the committee can do nothing against the will of the Director of Public Education and they have no power to interfere in the management of affairs; they are, in fact, about as useful as the same number of wax-figures in Madame Tussaud's exhibition. As

1. ibid, p.8.
2. ibid. p.8.

long as this state of affairs lasts, the members are of opinion that there is no hope of the village and tahsili schools being in any way beneficial to the Natives".[1]

(Some suggestions in this connection which Sir Syed made before the Education Commission in 1882, will be discussed later.)

Almost a year after the landholders' petition, Sir Syed got the Association to take a further step in the direction of formulating a policy for Indian education. In 1867 he got it to express a policy about the use of the vernaculars in university education. This policy in effect was no more than the policy which he had laid down in one of his articles under the title "Public Education in India" and which he now persuaded the Association to publish in its name.

His main object in writing this article had been to urge upon the Government that the natural, and therefore the best means for the general diffusion of knowledge among the masses could not be other than the use of the vernaculars. But he did not suggest that the vernaculars replace English and oust it from its position as the medium for higher education. Rather, he was led to see both English and the vernaculars in use side by side. He fully recognized the importance to Indians of English as a medium and as a subject. "We believe that English education has been, and is, doing a great deal of good to the country. It is elevating it, however slowly, and in however small a degree, both in moral principles and in the physical

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1. Sir Syed, Report of the Members of the Select Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of the Learning among Muhammadans of India, p.35.

sciences"[1]. But the question was how to perpetuate and extend the benefits which some Indians were drawing from English education. "How can a movement be set on foot which will give an impetus to the real enlightenment and education of India and to the progress and civilization of the nation?"[2].

To Sir Syed, education in English alone was not sufficient to achieve this end. He was not prepared to accept the argument that the educational system was something perfect and without flaw and incapable of any further change or improvement"[3], just because it was based on so "eminent a name as that of Macaulay"[4] and had been supported by an authority like Dr. Duff, "the successful founder of a popular Missionary College"[5]. He thought that Macaulay had been unable to appreciate the cultural requirements of the people or to pronounce upon a system of education harmonizing with the philosophy of human progress and civilization, and he commented, in explanation, that Macaulay "was known for a brilliant writer, not for a deep thinking philosopher, or a student of the cultures and progress of nations."[6]

He criticised the existing system of Government education (raised on "as light and unsubstantial basis as a paper minute by Macaulay") for the difficulties it had forced upon the Indian student. English was a foreign language in the homes even of those Indian students who

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1. Article, The B.I.A. Nos. 5 & 6, p.3.
2. ibid. pp. 3-4.
3. ibid. p.1.
4. ibid. p.1.
5. ibid. p.2.
6. ibid. p.1.

were studying the new sciences through its awkward medium. It could scarcely be expected that it could penetrate the homes of ordinary folk and lead to the successful anglicisation of the whole Indian population under British rule. To say that the present system will do for all time, is to assert that a country with a population of 180,000,000 will be Anglicised, that a population equal to a fifth of that or the globe, and an Eastern population, will become English in language and therefore in ideas, habits and modes of life on being brought into the slightest possible contact with a few of the conquering race".[1] To him the first and the greatest defect of the English education was that "it influences but infinitesimally the growth and civilisation of the nation".[2] In discussing this point he put forth two arguments. Firstly, he asserted that in comparison with the vast population of the whole of India the number of persons to whom an English education at Government Colleges had become accessible during the last thirty years had been so insignificant that "were they all swept away as by a wave there would be no appreciable loss felt".[3] Such were the conditions he found in the cities which were the principal seats of English education. There was no need to speak of the villages, for there the new education was a yet totally unknown. And even in a city he found the number of students never exceeding a dozen or a score, and that was all that could be achieved

1. ibid. p.4.
2. ibid. p.6.
3. ibid. p.6.

after so much European capital had been invested, and so many benevolent European societies had been working to propagate English education in India. So insignificant a number of persons educated in the European sciences at the English colleges, he felt, could hardly exert any influence on the social and cultural life of their countrymen. "We do not see", he wrote, "that during all the thirty years past, their entire number has affected the life of the nation in the least. With all their instruction in European science, the country remains as unaffected and untouched as ever. It is just like yoking a couple of fine, snowy, strong horses to a long and heavy laden railway train and expecting them to go. The train will not move an inch. (sic) The drivers gaily caparisoned may whip and spur the horses, and make them prance and curvet, and astonish the gaping and thoughtless observers, but that will be all. The acting will impose on no one who sees through the hollowness and trickery of the affair".[1]

Secondly, he was sorry to see that even this handful of educated persons did not belong to the upper strata of society. They came mostly from the lower classes. He was once again expressing his natural inclination towards the upper classes, born of what may be called his aristocratic temperament, and his reluctance to believe in the significance of the "commons" for the cultural development of the country, when he remarked with a certain amount of contempt, "From each street populous with life and teeming with living beings, we may find, and that by searching, that a dozen or score at most

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1. ibid. pp. 6 - 7.

of pupils attended College, and they not of the wealthiest but principally of the middle classes. While one may be found of the upper classes, two are found the heirs of a Bunneah[1] or of a Buzaz[2] and two more will be found the sons of a Post Office Jemadar[3], a Lieutenant Governor's Khansaman[4]". He believed that English education, accessible only to a few[5], and those few of low birth, was unable to make any substantial contribution to the advancement of culture and civilization in India.

A third defect he found in the system of English education was that while it was insignificant for the cultural development of the country, it was equally unjust to the vast majority of the people who were unable to benefit from it. "It is unjust", he argued, "that the vast majority in the nation should have science and literature closed to them unless they consent to go through a difficult language like English[6]". He saw that the loss the Indians had been suffering was the outcome of a policy of education which the Government had adopted some thirty years ago. (The policy to which he was referring here was undoubtedly that advocated in the Minute of Lord Macaulay, which suggested English as the medium for higher education). To continue this policy, adopted "to train up a class of low-paid writers and others for the Government and other offices[7]", was to make the new sciences inaccessible to the vast majority. It was to ask Indians,

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1. provision vendor.
2. cloth merchant.
3. peon, messenger.
4. steward.
5. Article, the B.I.A. 5 & 6, p.6.
6. ibid., p.7.
7. ibid, pp. 7-8.

he said, to be thankful for their half-loaf, when they were looking for the whole loaf. He believed that because of the impetus such events and agencies as the Mutiny, railways, steamers, telegraphs, the growth of commerce, exhibitions, schools, laws civil and criminal, and the press, etc., had given to the consciousness of the people, they had begun to realize the need for the general propagation of western sciences. "Old ways may have been very good but new ways, or the old ways very much reformed or enlarged, are now required, and they must be given, else risk will be incurred".[1]

The fourth objection he raised to the use of English was that it prevented any real assimilation of the subjects taught in that language at college. That men, who had got their B.A. or even their M.A., had failed to acquire such a real command over their own subjects, was proved from the fact that when a student who could glibly answer a tough question in his subject in English was asked to explain it off hand in his mother tongue he would not be able to do it. He went on "But why should progress here be associated with the English language? Simply because the mind has been accustomed to think so long in English and only in English, that it is even incapable of thinking the same thing in its own language!" Thus, he thought, the knowledge of an Indian graduate was both superficial, "unincorporated into his mental life", and as a result incapable of further progress. "Thence the complaint so frequently made by those who have engaged the services of such students for Schools and Colleges that they are

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1. ibid, p.8.
2. ibid. p.9.

unfit for teaching purposes even in those very subjects in which they passed with honours .... This fact has been repeatedly noticed from Chancellors down to Editors. It is lamented by the students themselves."[1]

He summed up his exposition of the defects of English education by saying "This education, being confined to a foreign tongue, and then again to a few, neither permanency nor prospective increase may be expected".[2]

Now the question was how to construct an educational system which would avoid those defects and which, in its attempt to spread Western learning in the country, would "not touch the few but the many". He wanted it to be one that would not be foreign but native so that it might last "even should the British leave the country". He believed that this end could be accomplished only through the vernaculars. "The vernacular ", he argued, requires no special effort to master it ....It comes as naturally to the Native as English to the English boy .... Habitually looking and thinking and writing in it keeps the mind in that groove in which it is to run or expand after school studies are over".[3]

The liberal attitude of Sir Syed towards the vernaculars which runs throug this article is remarkable. "The question", he said, "of which vernacular for which provinces is a very trivial and unimportant one, as there can be no doubt as to the boundaries of Bengalee

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1. ibid. pp. 8-9.
2. ibid. p. 10.
3. ibid. p. 11.

or Ordoo or Gujeratee".[1]

He pointed out that already a number of vernacular schools had been set up in every district. Now by taking this experiment to a further stage, he wanted to build an elaborate system of University education in which the medium of instruction was still to be the vernaculars. But, as he had made clear in the beginning, he was by no means suggesting the replacement of English by the vernacular. On the contrary, he was thinking of a system in which the co-existence of English and the vernacular was not impossible in practice. "This system need not be antagonistic to the English system. Should the present English system be dwarfed by it in time, it will be as a natural consequence of its own incompleteness. What we want is that useful knowledge be so incorporated into the current of the life, that it be naturalized in India".[2]

Since he was not primarily concerned with working out a detailed system of University education he was content to suggest in a cursory way the outlines on which this system could be constructed. "We have further to institute schools of a higher grade, and Vernacular Colleges. The elements for establishing these already exist in our Normal Schools, and a College may have at the same time two sides to it, the English and the Vernacular. Degrees of the Universities should be equally competed for by both the English and the Vernacular departments. The subjects of examination should be the same, only

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1. ibid. p.11
2. The B.I.A., pp. 11-12.

the answer of one would be in English and of the other in the vernacular. Subjects such as Euclid or Algebra or the Higher Mathematics, or History, or Geography, or Physical Science, or Logic and Metaphysics could be easily translated into the vernacular. And although it would not be so in Literature proper, still existing models even for the study of these are not wanting and we need not wait for a modern Native Milton. And while the work of translating text books is going on, the work of tuition need not remain in abeyance, for it would be greatly to their own benefit if our present race of students were to teach in their own tongue what they had learned in another".[1]

The end he had in view in making this proposal for vernacular education was not to find out an easy means of preparing people for specific jobs. He was seeking above all to enrich the cultural life of his countrymen by familiarizing them with the new learning of Europe through their own tongues. "English education may be the passport to some sort of employment, but Vernacular education such as we would have it to be, would reach the current of the national life. This would naturalize enlightenment and useful knowledge on Indian soil, and would in time produce its own Milton and Addison and La place if such is the end of education".

Not very long after the publication of this article a petition for the establishment of a vernacular university was sent to the Government of India by the British Indian Association, which was

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1. ibid. p.12.

evidently drawn up by Sir Syed himself.

The petition not only reflected the style of Sir Syed's article but reflected his arguments. The petition submitted by the British Indian Association was not, strictly,speaking, a scheme at all, since it did not contain any particular plan for the work it proposed. Like the article, this too was no more than a proposal.

The petition opened with an assertion of the obsolescence of the old learning of Asian countries and of its inability to satisfy the needs of the modern world. The petitioners held that "many of the arts and sciences ..... owe their origin to the present age only, and were quite unknown to our ancestors. Hence it is an indisputable fact that a study of these sciences and those languages, which are prevalent in Asia only, is wholly insufficient for the advancement of our knowledge or the enlightenment of our minds".[1] This enlightenment of the mind could not be attained without the study of modern learning, hence the urgent need "to study the English language and through it to gain access to the richest treasures of modern thought and knowledge".[2] The existing system of Government education was good, for its purpose was to enlighten the Indian mind, but it was defective in that its advantages were confined to a few. This disadvantage arose, they maintained, as Sir Syed had done, from the choice of English

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1. Petition of the B.I.A. to the Viceroy and G.G. of India in Council, dated 1st August 1867, p.1, enclosure to the letter (No.10) dated Sept. 13th, 1867, Despatch No.1, Jan. 7th, 1868, ed. Dept. India Collections to Despatches, vol. 12, Account and Papers, vol. LII, 1870, pp. 317-8, Para. 3.
2. ibid. p.1; ibid. p.318.

as the sole medium of instruction. They went on - following his arguments - to show the barrier created by the language. "At present an acquaintance with the higher branches of knowledge can be obtained only by a study of the English language, and it is this which presents the greatest obstacles to the general and rapid propagation of useful knowledge in the country, and which delays the approach of any change for the better in the ideas and morals of the people. By this the growth of Public Education is stunted and withered, and a few only, through a medium difficult of access, can cull the fruits of a learning, which should be easy of approach to all".[1]

After stating the case against the use of the English language they advanced their main proposition that the purpose of education in English ideas could be served by introducing the vernacular right up to the level of university education. Like Sir Syed they did not mean to do away with teaching through English, rather they urged "that instead of English alone, the vernacular also may be made the channel for the instruction of all the people alike in the very highest subjects of culture and education".[2] The system they were proposing might be different from that which was in vogue, but it was not antagonistic to it because the ultimate object of both was the same. They were seeking the same ends, through the Vernaculars. "We seek only the diffusion of the sciences and arts now prevalent in Europe since we aim at nothing else than the universal spread of

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1. ibid. p.2. Sir Syed's views were subtle and shared by many; Accounts and Papers, vol. LII, 1870, p.318, Para. 8.
2. ibid. p.2; ibid, p.319, Para. 12.

European enlightenment throughout all India".[1]

Moreover, he pointed out, this idea of using the vernaculars in higher education of a modern type was not a new thing, for it had been put into practice years before in the Delhi College and at the moment in two Indian colleges subjects were taught both in the vernacular and English -- at the Thomason Civil Engineering College at Roorkee and at the Medical College of Agra. "In the former the same branches of learning, and up to the same standard, are taught both in the English and Vernacular Departments, in other words, the books studied in the Vernacular Departments are the exact translations of the volumes used in the English Department. The examination questions are the same for both Departments. One set of papers is in English, the other in the vernacular, accurately translated. The results of the examination are similar in kind, at one time a student of the Vernacular Department obtains a higher place or better marks than his competitor of the English Department; at another time the English student surpasses his vernacular rival. Both enjoy equal advantages, the channel only through which they study is different. Again in the Medical College Agra it does not appear that the vernacular students fall behind their English competitors in mastering subjects which in a similar way are taught to both up to a certain standard".[2]

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1. ibid. p.3; ibid. p.319, Para. 15.
2. ibid. p.3; ibid. pp. 319-20, Para. 16.

But the subjects taught at those Colleges were purely technical and now they urged the Government to "establish a system of public education of the highest class, in which the arts, sciences and other branches of literature may be taught through the instrumentality of the vernacular."[1] For this purpose they offered two suggestions, either a vernacular department be attached to the Calcutta University or there should be created an independent vernacular university for the North-Western Provinces. In the former case they proposed "that an examination in the vernacular be annually held in those very subjects, in which the student is now examined in English in the Calcutta University, and that degrees now conferred on English students for proficiency in various departments of knowledge, be likewise conferred on the student who successfully passes in the same subjects in the vernacular".[2]

To solve the problem of text books in the vernaculars they proposed that European books be translated into the vernacular or that original works be compiled in certain subjects.

When the Memorandum of the Association was placed before the Governor General in Council, it seems that the Government distinguished between two questions, viz., the development of Vernacular literatures into suitable media for popular education and the immediate adoption of the vernaculars as the media of university education.[3]

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1. ibid. p.3; ibid. p.320, para.19.
2. ibid. p.3; ibid.
3. Some time after, Sir Alfred Lyall, while admitting the obstacle of mastering a foreign language, pointed out that the Govt. ought not to try to remove it, "for we cannot undertake to translate European literature for the benefit of our Indian fellow-subjects, the best of whom would laugh at paltry abridgements and imperfect renderings". Asiatic studies, p.253.

As for the former, the Secretary to the Government of India made it clear in his despatch to the President of the Association that what was urged by the Association was already the policy of the Government itself, and had been since it was laid down in the Education Despatch of 1854. The Despatch, he wrote, contained "the leading principles by which the system of education in this country had since been governed; and His Excellency in Council is glad to find that the soundness of the views therein expressed, is so fully corroborated by the expectation which you have now submitted".[1] He drew the attention of the President to the desire therein expressed to improve the local languages of India -- and not to supersede them -- and quoted the key passage "any acquaintance with improved European knowledge which is to be communicated to the great masses of the people whose circumstances prevent them from acquiring a high order of education, and who cannot be expected to overcome the difficulties of a foreign language, can only be conveyed to them through one or other of these Vernacular languages".[2] This, the Secretary claimed, had been the guiding principle of the Government of India's policy regarding the Indian languages; and it, too, had accepted the need for enriching vernacular literatures by the translation of European works. Since 1854 some progress had already been made towards this very important end, and now he stated "the Governor General in Council will contemplate, with

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1. From Sec. to the Govt. of India to the President of B.I.A. No.4217, 5th Sept. 1867, para 2, Despatch of January 1868, No. 1, letter dated 13th Sept. (No. 10) 1867. Ed. Despatch, India. (Collections to the Despatches, vol. 12).
2. ibid. para.3

the greatest satisfaction,further indication of a desire and ability on the part of the Natives of India to add to this progress. It is gratifying to find in the memorial now before Government,so clear a recognition of the necessity of adding to the Vernacular literature with the view of making it available as a medium for imparting a higher class of instruction to the great masses of the people; and his Excellency in Council notices with particular satisfaction the mention made of the steps,in this direction,now being taken by the Allygurh Scientific Society"[1].

But, the Secretary went on,whatever had so far been done, by way of adaptation of translation of European works into the local language was regarded by the Government of India as insufficient to meet the requirement of higher education. A number of books prescribed for the University examination,it was pointed out,remained as yet untranslated. And moreover, the translation of such works alone could hardly of itself be sufficient for a university education, for"the object of the university education is not merely principally to secure a knowledge of certain specified books,but to prepare and fit the mind for the pursuit of knowledge in the wide sphere of European science and literature,and for some time to come this can probably be carried on by Natives of India only through the medium of the English language[2]. The Government therefore asked the

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1. From the Govt. of India to the President and Members of the B.I.Association N.W.P. Home Dept.,No.4217,dated 5th Sept.1867, Despatch No.1,7th Jan.1868,Ed.Dept India Collections to Despatches, vol.12).
2. ibid.

Association to communicate any proposals it had worked out to overcome this difficulty, assuring the President that the Governor General in Council "will at all times be happy to receive practical suggestions on the subject, and give them the fullest and most careful consideration".[1]

After receiving this letter Sir Syed made a remarkable speech on the 20th September 1867 at Babu Fateh Narain's house, addressing a large gathering of Hindus and Muslims. He pointed out the importance of transferring modern sciences into the vernaculars from European languages. He said: "From all these events, which I have just related, it is clearly proved that all nations which once were civilised knew their sciences in their own languages, and whichever nation tried to progress and to civilise itself did so by translating all sciences into its own language. Therefore the easiest and most effective method for India to progress - and progress is the result of the experience of many various countries, and of thousands of years - is this, that it should also try, by all possible means, to transfer into its own language, all those sciences and arts which are now in the possession of foreign nations..... I have used at every place the term 'our language'. What I mean by 'our language' is that language which is so current in a country that everyone can understand it and speak it, whether it is the original language of that place or not".[2]

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1. ibid.
2. Sir Syed, speech dated Sept. 20th, 1867, Muk. Maj., p.48.

The Association then did set about preparing a practical scheme for submission to the Government of India. In presenting this, the Association unreservedly confessed the difficulties which were likely to be met in making arrangements for higher studies through the medium of the vernaculars. It enumerated these difficulties as follows:

1. The non-existence of Vernacular works on the useful sciences and arts of Europe.

2. The need to compose not only vernacular translations of these books prescribed for examination by the University but also of a progressive series of important original vernacular works.

3. The labour and costs involved in producing and disseminating such works in the vernaculars. The Association considered it impossible for the Government to bear all the burden of such costs.

4. The need for a propaganda effort among Indians to encourage them to read the vernaculars in Government and private schools.

5. The need to secure teachers and professors competent to instruct in those works.[1]

The Association was prepared to bear the whole burden of translating two sets of works, one "for the University curriculum in its several grades", and the other "for an enlarged sphere of study subsequent to the completion of the ordinary university course".

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1. From Raja Jaikishan Das Bahadur, Sec. B.I.A., N.W.P. Aligarh, to E.C. Bailey, Sec. to the Govt. of India in the Home Dept., dated 12th Oct. 1867. Despatch 31st Jan. (No. 5) 1868, Ed. Dept. letter dated Dec. 6th (No. 14) 1867 (Collections to Despatches, vol. 12).

And it asked the Government to suggest such European works as might be suitable for translation. As for the other difficulties, it hoped that the further expansion in popular education would not involve the Government in any increased expenditure, since the wealthier class of the Indian population had now become alive to the necessity of public education in India. "The apathy of former times seems to be departing, and very many natives are now to be found who are anxiously disposed to promote education among their countrymen, and there are not a few who are so impressed with the necessity of disseminating European knowledge and enlightenment, and so convinced that the only means of doing this lies through the medium of the vernacular that they are prepared to make considerable sacrifices of time, labour and money to secure the accomplishment of their designs".[1]

With the welcome given in September to the petition and the Government's request for further practical suggestions, it might have been felt that there was every hope for vernacular education's early introduction. But in November the Government, in a further letter to the Association, firmly asserted that the vernaculars could not in their existing state of progress be fitted to the purposes of university education. Approval was given, however, to any scheme for translations into the vernaculars adopted by the Association, and the ready support of Government was promised "not only in preparing a list

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1. ibid. p.2.

of books, the translation of which may be deemed useful .... but ... in any satisfactory scheme for translating and publishing them".[1]

With this correspondence between the Government and the Association from 1st August 1867 to 31st January 1868, the efforts of the Association regarding the scheme for a vernacular university came to an end. It is never heard of again returning to this issue. Thus the idea of a vernacular university, of which Sir Syed was the originator, and in the propagation of which the Association had been his instrument, could not be put into effect. The scheme did not fail just because the Government had regarded it as premature. There were other reasons also working to the same effect.[2] It was attacked by the supporters of Sanskrit and Hindi on the ground that in the North-Western Provinces a university, in which the vernacular used would be Urdu (at which Sir Syed had aimed), would prevent the advancement of Hindi and so frustrate the growth of Hindu Nationality. The University authorities discouraged it because of the technical difficulties of rendering the English terms into the vernacular, and doubtless from inertia and the pull of vested interests. And lastly Sir Syed himself left for England on the 1st April 1869, and the main driving force behind the Association's plan was thus withdrawn.

In the year before he left, however, there had been an important

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1. ibid. From Sec. to the Govt. of India to the Sec. of the B.I.A., N.W.P., dated 29th Nov. 1867, No. 784. para.4.
2. Kempson mistakenly opposed the proposal in the belief that what was aimed at - as in the earlier proposals for an Oriental University in the Punjab - was an institution for eastern learning. See M.Kempson's letter to the Govt.of the N.W.P.No.876, dated July,24,1868,Despatch 2 of 1870.,Collections to Ed.Despatches,vol.13

development, which gave rise to the Hindi-Urdu controversy. Sir Syed's reaction to this controversy and the position he held in this issue will be discussed more properly in the next chapter when accounting for the changes in the form of his future policy - here a bare account of the events will be given.

The first person who criticised the Association's university plan after it had been made public in 1868 was Dinanath Gangoly,[1] who was the Secretary of the Etawah Club, and a supporter of the Hindi language. He wrote a paper for the club which was published in the Hindu Patriot in January 1868. Dinanath Gangoly was in favour of adapting the local languages of India to the needs of university education. But the ultimate end he had in view in thus developing the vernaculars was to pave the way for the adoption of Sanskrit -- "their common parent" -- as the "national language" of India. He was therefore opposed to the idea of having Urdu as the only medium in the proposed vernacular university, because it was not the language of the Hindus: they spoke Hindi. Accordingly he suggested that the British Indian Association should translate "English Works into Hindee, thereby facilitating the organization of a Vernacular of the Hindoo, and into Oordoo as the vernacular of the Mohamedan section of the population of India".[2] His other views about the relative position of Hindi and Urdu were expressed in the same paper. He stated, "although

1. The Etawah Club was established in 1865 and had been very active in discussing the social and political problems of India. See Report on the Progress of Education in N.W.P. for the year 1867-8. Appendix E.
2. Dinanath Gangoly, Letter dated 2nd Feb. 1868, quoted in letter No. 2279A, dated Dec. 9, 1868, p. 21. enclosure to Despatch No. 2, of 1870, India, Home Dept. Education, Collections to Despatches, vol. 13½

Oordu bears an affinity to Hindee, the Hindoos cannot fairly accept it as their vernacular. For, as Oordoo will advance towards refinements, it will be replenished with Arabic or Persian words, and the little tinge it has in it of Hindee will gradually disappear. Besides, the Hindoos may speak Oordoo, they may write in it to subserve their secular wants, but as long as they have a profession of the Hindoo religion, they cannot forsake Hindee. In their prayers, their hymns and their worship, they must utter pure Sanskrit, that is what they urgently need. This want the Oordoo can not supply; and if the proposed Vernacular University gives encouragement to Oordoo only, Hindee, I doubt not, will eventually succumb to the mighty progress of Oordoo, and will possibly sink into oblivion altogether. It is not therefore too much to conjecture that, with the extinction of Hindee, the death-knell of Hindoo nationality will begin to ring".[1]

Kannu Lal, the Deputy Collector of Shah Jahanpur and the Honorary President of the Etawah Club, not only supported the idea of a Hindi university but dwelt upon the origin and capacities of both the languages. He denied the existence of any such language as Urdu and predicted its disappearance, with Hindi getting its proper recognition. "The pure Oordoo is nothing more than the Hindee spoilt by the admixture of Persian words. The Hindee, based on the Sanskrit, has much more power of expansion and capacity than

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1. ibid.

the Oordoo,which,with slight variation,it is skin to almost all the languages of India. It is understood by the masses as well as by the few. On the other hand,the Oordoo in Persian letters is confined chiefly to the Amla[1] Class,and will soon die a natural death if the Deo Nagree character were made the Court language,while the high flown Oordoo of Delhi and Lucknow is as difficult of understanding by the masses as the Persian itself".[2]

The second burst of opposition came when the University scheme was referred by the Government of India to the educational authorities of North India,and to Calcutta University.

At the University of Calcutta the question was raised which was the vernacular spoken in the North-Western Provinces. The query was put by K.M. Banerjea,President of the Faculty of Arts,at a meeting of the Syndicate which was held on the 25th April 1868 to consider the proposal of the Association. This point had been left unspecified in the original memorandum;hence the remark by K.M.Banerjea: "The Association does not say in what language and character it proposes to execute the translations referred to".[3] He raised a more serious objection to the Memorandum when he came to discuss the question of translating scientific and technical terms. The Association, he pointed out,had completely ignored the problems involved. "Nor does the Association say anything",he remarked,"as to the principle

1. Office staff.
2. Extract of a letter dated 1st March 1868,from Baba Kannu Lal,Hon. President,Etawah Debating Club,to Babu Dinanath Gangoli,Sec.of the Club,cited letter of the Govt.of N.W.P.No.2279A,Dec.9,1868. p.18, collection to Ed.Despatches,vol.11.
3. K.M. Banerjea,President of the Faculty of Arts Calcutta University remarks enclosed with the Bengal D.P.I's letter No.3846,dated August 31,1868,ibid.

on which it intends to get up the translations. It makes no reference to the settlement of technical and scientific terms, no remarks on the mode of rendering sentences which may be peculiarly idiomatic in English or involve ideas quite foreign to the country. The Association seems to take it for granted that the work of translations involves little or no difficulties, that the creation of a new literature in a language is like ordinary routine business, that a list of works has only to be prescribed, anda regular educational course can be at once produced in the vernacular in order to enable all classes to undergo University examination in their own language".[1]

On behalf of the University, however, he assured the Association that the University would be prepared to consider works for its examinations, if written or compiled by competent men. "The better plan will be to name subjects in literature, History, Science, and Philosophy on which the Association may encourage competent men to write or compile works in Urdu or Hindi. The University will gladly consider afterwards how far such works may be suitable for its examinations".[2]

The University itself thought it 'inexpedient' to lend its sanction "to the translation of any particular works under the direction of the Allygurh (sic) Society or of any similar agency", inexpedient, because of the vast difficulties in the translation of scientific and philosophical works from one language to another and the absence of

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1. ibid.
2. ibid.

knowledge of the qualifications of the persons to be employed as translators.

W. Handford, Director of Public Instruction, Oudh, was another education authority to whom the scheme was referred. At the instance of the Chief Commissioner of Oudh he had forwarded a list of English books for translation consisting of History, Literature, Travel and Mathematics. In forwarding the list Handford expressed his doubts about the whole proposal of the Association. He believed it an absurdity to expect that "a literature, sufficient to afford a high order to edcuation, can be created by merely translating a number of text-books from English into Urdu".[1] He exposed fully the differences existing between the English and the Eastern societies, in their modes of thought and their mental development, which would prevent such attempts being of real good. Instead of direct translations he suggested that books in the vernaculars, reproducing the knowledge to be found in Western works, should be specially composed in a form suitable to the people of India. Such works should be entrusted to cultivated men well versed in the subject they took up, able thoroughly to appreciate English books on it, and having leisure and ability to reproduce their knowledge in a form suited to the prevailing condition of the Native intellect. However, he did not accept the value of any immediate attempt to introduce higher studies such as philosophy, science or even the

1. From W. Handford, D.P.I., Oudh, to the Sec. to the Chief Commissioner of Oudh. No. 206 dated 23rd May 1868, enclosure to letter to the Govt. N.W.P., No.611, Oct.30, 1869, Despatch No.2 of 1870, Home Dept., Collections to Educational Despatches, vol.13.

higher kinds of books of travel and history to the Indian people on account of their low mental cultivation.

More discouraging than the technical objections, was the political opposition to the scheme. It seems that the proposal had not stirred any agitation among the supporters of Hindi until they got some indication from the Government that it was treating it seriously. The occasion for their alarm was the consultation of the various local Governments by the Government of India and the subsequent local references to certain individuals and associations. Before the consultation the scheme had attracted the attention of a number of thinking minds, and had even been criticised on one or two occasions; yet the opposition lacked any organized movement. Writing to his Provincial Government on 24th July 1868, Kempson remarked "The educational views expressed by this Society in its recent appeals to the Supreme Government under the title of British Indian Association, have attracted the attention of many thinking Natives, but carry little weight, so far as I can judge from conversation on the subject".[1]

Once the Government had shown its interest, however, organized opposition appeared in many places. Among the members of the Etawah Club, for instance, heated discussion followed when M. Kempson consulted it on this topic. The paper of Dīnanāth Gangoli and the letter of Kannu Lal were sent to the D.P.I. as expressing the views

1. From M. Kempson to the Off. Sec. to the Govt. of India, Home Dept., No.876, 24th July 1868, Part 6, P.74 Despatch No. 2, 27th Jan. 1870, letter No.2279A, Dec.9,1868, Collections to Despatches, vol. 13.

of all the members of the Club. Soon an organized movement was started to oppose Urdu and to promote the cause of Hindi. "In brief," wrote Hali, "in a national assembly, held at the premises of Babu Fateh Narain Singh, a landholder in Benares, the problem (of Hindi) was touched upon. Gradually, committees, associations and sabhas were established under different names. A central association was formed at Allahabad and all the other above-mentioned sabhas placed in subordination".[1]

It was natural that the supporters of Hindi should have looked upon Urdu as the language of the Muslims and the proposal of Sir Syed as one in support of a "Muslim Dialect". By this time, first Urdu and later Hindi had played important parts in the growth of Muslim and Hindu national, or religious feelings. Among the Muslims, long before the Mutiny, the Wahabi leaders had used Urdu to preach their message to the Muslim masses.

They (the Wahabis) aimed at purification of faith and social reform of the masses -- they being the most corrupted class in India. To achieve this aim they attempted to communicate with the masses and to make the teaching of Islam accessible to them. It was in 1790 that Shah Abdul Qadir, son of Shah Waliullah the famous saint and philosopher of Delhi, translated the Quran "in the popular idiom".[2] This translation was so authentic that soon it became popular amongst

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1. Hali, Hayat, vol. 1, pp. 140-1.
2. Nawab Sadiq Hasan, The Iksir, p.106, quoted by the Rev. Hugues, The Quran, The Preface, p.iii.

Muslims of all classes and was "printed over and over again by different printing presses".[1]

The Wahabi leaders also composed books to propagate their teaching among the masses, appealing to them to purify their beliefs and customs. For instance the sayings of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, who was not a learned man, were recorded by Maulvi Muhammad Ismail Shahid, grandson of Shah Waliullah and a great scholar, and published under the title Sirat ul-Mustaqim (The Straight Way). This book became very popular both for its content and style. It has a general appeal for every Muslim whether interested in the teaching of the Wahabis or not, because it is, in the words of W.W. Hunter "almost entirely one of practical morality".[2] Nor did the Wahabi literature remain limited to the problem of purification of faith and customs. Their plea for Jihad soon created a copious literature both in poetry and prose. " .... any attempt" asserts W.W. Hunter, "at even the briefest epitome of the Wahabi treatises in prose and verse on the duty to wage war against the English would fill a volume".[3]

Many of these works were sold and enthusiastically read by Muslims of all classes. Thus the early Urdu literature got a strong stamp of Muslim beliefs and culture on it and became unacceptable to the Hindus who were also making efforts to revive their culture and religion.

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1. ibid.
2. Hunter, The Indian Musalmans, p.53.
3. Hunter, op. cit., p.66.

As for the movement of Hindu revivalism, even before the Mutiny a religious awakening and an impulse to revive Hinduism had started in Bengal in the form of the Brahmo Samaj, the first and most influential religious movement of modern India[1] -- in the third decade of the 19th century; and for its subsequent diffusion in Northern India it could not find any more adequate a medium than the Hindi language.

In spite of sharing with Urdu a common grammatical structure, that of Khari Boli, modern Hindi had its origin in cultural traditions which were different from those inherited by Urdu. It was the cultural and social aspect of the languages which caused dissension rather than the strictly technical question of their linguistic origin and development.[2] As far back as the early '60s, a few

1. Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements in India, p.29.

2. The technical question of the linguistic origin and development of Urdu and Hindi has divided scholars into two camps. The one asserts, for instance, in the words of G.A. Grierson that "The years commencing with the downfall of the Maratha power and ending with the Mutiny form another convenient period in dealing with the literary history of Hindustan... It was, moreover, the period of that wonderful hybrid language known to Europeans as Hindi, and invented by them. In 1803, under Gilchrist's tuition, Lallu Lal wrote the Prem Sagar in the mixed Urdu language of Akbar's camp-followers and of the market where men of all nations congregated, with this peculiarity, that he used only nouns and articles of Indian, instead of those of Arabic or Persian origin. The result was practically a newly-invented speech, for though the grammar was the same as that of the prototype, the vocabulary was almost entirely changed". (George A. Grierson, the Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindostan, p.107. To this answers the other party, in the words of another Orientalist that "Hindi prose has existed, for centuries, some would say, for nearly six hundred years, and there are about thirty known writers of prose before Lallu Lal, several of whom wrote in Khari. There may have been many more". (Grahame Bailey, Studies in North Indian Languages, p.523).

broad-minded Hindus who had received their education in the Government schools, under the name Tuttva Bodhni (the principles of teaching) established a Society at Bareilly for religious and social reformation. To achieve this aim they had resolved to communicate to the classes hitherto shut out from the acquisition of religious knowledge, the true principles of the Hindu religion as enshrined in the Sanskrit language, by means of translations of the Hitopadesa and parts of Mahabharata,[1] etc. into Hindi. The Society was convinced, as were some Hindus in Benares, that these classical Hindi versions of Sanskrit would, if introduced into the schools, tend to raise and fix the character and genius of the language.[2] It has been seen that the British Government, following its policy of educating the masses, was making efforts to develop the vernaculars. The aims and purposes of the Tuttva Bodhni attracted the attention of the Director of Public Instruction. He therefore, in 1862, made contact with it and received a deputation from the Society on the subject and promised them assistance,[3] while they, on their part, agreed to help him in the translation of useful English as well as Sanskrit works. The representatives of the Society averred that "The society is exceedingly pleased to observe the kindness with which your Honour has taken the subject of Hindee education into your favourable consideration

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1. Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1862-3, p.36.
2. ibid.
3. ibid., p.36.

and expressed a wish to hear the opinion of the Society on the desirability of having good Hindee versions of the Hitopadesa and parts of Mahabharut, etc. which you believe will go far towards improvement of our language, for which purpose you propose to have Hindee versions of the best known Sanskrit works prepared by good scholars".

"To this, your good proposal, this Society will heartily co-operate with Your Honor, and is ready to prepare books from the original Sanskrit works after Your Honor's approval, will be lithographed for the use of different schools".[1] Accordingly, Hindu religious works were translated into Hindi and these were then placed on the curricula of Government schools.[2] Along with the rapid spread of education Hinduism revived, and Hindi became so permeated with the traditions of Hindu culture and religion that it acquired an independent cultural existence which was quite distinct from that of the Urdu language. "Modern Hindi" remarks a recent writer, "borrowed the

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1. Honorary Sec. Tattva Bodhini, quoted by Kempson, Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1862-3, p.23A, Appendix F.
2. One year after, upon Kempson's indication, Raja Siva Prasad[a] composed his Itihas Timal, basing it on Elphinstone's History. "He (also) wrote as many as sixteen books in simple (Hindi) prose and in Devanagri script which could be acceptable to the authorities as text books for children .... Having ensured the existence of Hindi in the curricula of studies, Raja Siva Prasad thought of creating a public opinion in favour of Hindi, to which people had of late become allergic. For this he used his newspaper Benares Akhbar, which he had founded as early as 1854[b]".
   (a) See the comments of the Text-Book Committee on this book on p.
   (b) Jindal, A History of Hindi Literature, pp. 221-2.

structure of Khari Boli from Urdu,but with those words and expressions and with the spirit of those ideas and literary traditions which had always been present in Avadhi,Rajasthani and the other popular dialects of Northern India....in the provinces within the influence of Hindu culture[1]". Hindi was,in fact,the developed form of that Avadhi and Braj literature whose current had been flowing uninterruptedly from the days of Kabir Das...There has been a continuous flow of Hindu concepts,Hindu traditions and Hindu religious and cultural trends in Northern India[2]". Speaking of the early efforts to champion the cause of Hindi,Pandit Shukla,the author of a learned history of Hindi Literature,writes:"Raja Siva Prasad in the U.P.and Navin Chandra Rai in the Punjab were making propaganda for Hindi. They translated a number of works and persuaded others to do the same.Navin Chandra established a magazine in 1867 under the title Giyan Perdaini Patrika...in 1866 Navin Chandra Babu delivered a lecture at an association in Lahore. He said that it would be of no use for the Indians to preach on behalf of Urdu because that was the language of the Muslims.....It was the duty of Hindus to develop their own traditional language[3]".

What led Sir Syed to recommend Urdu as the medium for a University to be established in the North Western Provinces was the consideration that Urdu the developed form of Khari Boli---had long since become the common Language in Northern India of all the upper

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1. Sajjad Zahir,Hindi,Urdu,Hindustani..p. 31.
2. ibid.p.30.
3. Ram Chandra Shukla,Hindi Sahitya ka Itihas (History of Hindi literature)Hindi,8th ed.pp.443-44.

classes, though also recognized as the language of the Muslims. It was because the whole upper class spoke Urdu that the suggestion of a vernacular university was made by an Association which consisted of both Hindus and Muslims, and of which the Secretary, Raja Jaikishan Das[1] was a Hindu. Many of the Hindu upper classes, at this time, overlooking the growth of Hindi, were ready to support Urdu. Sir Syed--a representative of the Muslim upper class-- naturally supported it. Both overlooked one important fact about the development of Urdu, namely, the new religious stamp put upon it by the Wahabi movement. But for the Hindu middle class Urdu, so stamped with Muslim culture, was not acceptable. A language of their own had to be developed, in which their new nationalism could be expressed.

This opposition to the proposal for a vernacular university using Urdu is important from our point of view, not simply for the reason that it marks the beginning of the rivalry of the two languages, but more because it indicates the point at which Sir Syed realized that the difference of cultures and interests between the Hindus and the Muslims of which he was not unaware, was deep-rooted, and that the middle class Hindus would not refrain from adopting an antagonistic attitude towards the Muslims if their interests clashed. Even the upper class Hindus would not long cling to Muslim or Mughal culture in face of the revival of Hindu culture.

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1. In 1883, before the Education Commission Jai Kishan Das claimed that Hindi, and not Urdu, was the mother tongue of the Hindu and therefore the suitable medium of education. Education Commission, Report by the N.W.P. and Oudh Provincial Committee, p.229.

CHAPTER III

The Formulation of Sir Syed's Ideas in England 1869-1870

The interval between 1867 and 1870 forms by itself a distinct period in the life of Sir Syed and may fairly be treated as one of the formation of his political and social policy. The purpose of the present chapter is to discuss the main factors which were responsible for this change in his approach to practical problems of politics and society in India, and which led him to embark upon a policy which was devoted out and out to the reformation of the Muslim community. The factors were three. Firstly, there was the opposition of the Hindus to the official use of the Urdu language, which estranged him from Hindus as a community, and convinced him that the Hindus and the Muslims could no longer work whole-heartedly together in the internal politics of their country. Secondly, there was the recent change in Government's policy regarding the Muslims from one of suspicion and distrust to one of sympathy and favour, a change which Sir Syed felt it opportune to make use of in chalking out a programme for the uplift of his co-religionists. Thirdly, there was a change and widening in Sir Syed's social outlook, the result of his observation of Western civilization during the period of about eighteen months from April 1869 to October 1870 which he spent in England. This both aroused in him an awareness of social decadence among the Muslims and convinced him of the necessity of westernizing their social

Standards. Each of these factors which conjointly worked in shaping his policy, had its historical background.

First in time came the Hindi-Urdu dispute, an event which proved so significant in the life of Sir Syed, and exerted so deep an influence on his thought and activities that it has even been regarded as the turning point in his public career, "so sudden and complete"[I] was the change in his outlook. The first occasion on which he spoke out his mind was in a private conversation with Mr. Shakespeare, the Commissioner of the Benares Division, before he left for England. This has been related by his biographer Hali in his own words: "In those days when this (Hindi-Urdu) was being talked about in Benares, once I was speaking about the education of theMuslims to Mr. Shakespeare who was the Commissioner of Benares at that time. After hearing my speech with surprise, he remarked that it was the first time that he had heard me talking about the progress of the Muslims alone, for up till then I had always been thinking of the welfare of Indians generally. I said that I had now become convinced that those two communities could no longer work together whole heartedly. Opposition and animosity had only appeared a little so far, but it seemed that it would increase more and more on account of those who were called educated. Those who lived long enough would see for themselves. He remarked that it would be regrettable if my prophecy should come to

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I. Sherwani, Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration. p.227.

be true. I replied that I too should much regret it but that I was sure it would prove true".[1]

In order to understand the reaction which set in within him at this juncture it is necessary here to say a little about his position in this great controversy. Obviously, there existed no language dispute, at least in North India, before 1867. In spite of developing separately, Hindi and Urdu had not then come into collision. They collided for the first time in their history when Sir Syed recommended Urdu as the medium for his proposed vernacular university. He may be regarded, therefore, as the originator of a scheme which was bound to involve the language issue. But obviously he cannot be held directly responsible for the bitter consequences of this dispute which, coupled with other political and economic factors, developed ultimately into outright Hindu-Muslim friction. To put him in the latter position is to overlook the sincerity of his earlier efforts to benefit the Hindus as well as the Muslims. But in recommending the Urdu language as the medium of higher education he had certainly overlooked the cultural importance of Hindi of which the Hindu intelligentsia --- the harbingers of the rising Hindu middle class --- had been growing more and more conscious. It would be to present only one side of the picture to interpret their opposition to Urdu by saying, as Hali does, that "our fellow-countrymen wanted to obliterate the Urdu language, which is in fact the developed form

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1. Hali, Hayat, vol. 1, p. 140.

of Hindi,and contains Arabic nouns,not more in quantity than the salt which is mixed with the flour, for the simple reason that it had been originally developed under the Muslim regime".[1] It was true, as has been indicated before, that Urdu was spoken by both the Hindus and the Muslims belonging to the upper classes in the cities of North India and that it was understood by the common people even in the villages; but it was also equally true that there had been growing in the cities of North India,especially those of religious importance like Benares and Allahabad,a class of educated Hindus which was influenced by the cultural and religious activities of the religious societies such as Tuttva Bodhini[2], and which was looking for a revival of Hindu community in North India. This was why men like Dinanath Gangoli identified Hindi with Hindu nationality,and urged the Hindus to stand up and struggle for it. " I do not at all maintain", he wrote, "that exertions for a few years,and by a limited number of men,can accomplish the contemplated object. The whole Hindoo community must rise up as a man and exert itself for centuries to arrive at the consummation of their noble cause".[3] Sir Syed's eyes,however,were fixed mainly on that class which included, besides the Muslim aristocracy, a considerable section of the Hindu population whose economic interest in the Government service under Muslim rule had made it adopt Urdu as its mother tongue.

1.Hali,Hayat,vol.1,pp.139-40.
2.See supra Chapter 11.
3.Dinanath Gangoli,letter dated Feb.2,1868,enclosed with a letter from the Govt.of N.W.P. No.2279A,dated Dec.9,1868,to the Govt. of India, p.22, Despatch No.2 of 1870, Home Dept. Ed. Collections to Despatches, vol.13.

It was due to his bias towards a particular class,rather than to any sectarian prejudice,that from the very beginning, he was apt to overlook the true nature of the demands of the Hindu intelligentsia whose cultural and political interests were very different from his own, and even to attribute those demands to " national prejudice"[1], as he was to do in the more heated controversy of a later period. To him, the opposition to Urdu was quite unexpected and came as a great shock which changed his political outlook altogether. Once challenged,Sir Syed could not refrain from taking an active part in the defence of Urdu.[2] There are some responsible persons who go to the length of attributing the Partition of India to this very language dispute first expressed in the opposition to the vernacular university. "In 1867 the Hindus sent petitions to the Government and made efforts to expel Urdu and to replace it by Hindi in Government offices and Courts. Sir Syed was much grieved by this. He stated that till then all his efforts had been for the welfare and progress of the country and of all the inhabitants of India; but that when the Hindus made efforts to wipe out Urdu he was convinced that thenceforth they could work together no longer.

"From that time,solely on account of the oppsition to Urdu Hindus and Muslims became two distinct nations,and the two-nations theory was formulated which gave birth to Pakistan. There is no

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1.Hali,Hayat,vol.1,p.143.
2.For instance, Dr. Maulvi Abd ul Haq,President of the Anuman i Taraqqi i Urdu,Pakistan; he had been a student of the M.A.O.College in Sir Syed's time.

exaggeration in saying that the first brick in the foundation of the palace of Pakistan was laid by the blessed hands of this venerated old man. Now the solidarity and unity of Pakistan is dependent upon it"[1].

While this unhappy storm of language disputes was drawing Sir Syed away from the Hindus, a lightening in the political atmosphere elsewhere made his move closer to the Government in his planning for the Muslims welfare. For in the late sixties of the nineteenth century the Government's attitude towards the Muslims had become favourable.//

It is necessary here to see in what ways, after the Mutiny, the Government had reduced Muslim influence in politics and administration, and then to see what were the political exigencies which persuaded it to adopt a more paternal attitude towards them.

Mention has already been made of the Government's vigorous efforts to make English influence predominant in all departments, Educational, Revenue, Army, Police and Judicial, etc. This had automatically reduced the Muslim influence to a great extent. Nevertheless, the preponderant Muslim influence was not at once eradicated even after the Mutiny. As late as 1864 Siva Prasad the Inspector of Public

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1. Abdul Haq, Qaumi Zuban (National Language), Ist April 1955, p.5.

Instruction pointed out that "one half of the Deputy Collectors in the North-Western Provinces are Muhammadans. Thirty-four Hindu Judicial Officers are placed against 43 Muhammadans of the same rank,and 83 Hindu Tahsildars I find against 93 Muhammadans".[1]

But the Muslims could not expect to hold this position much longer; Bengal,whence Hunter wrote,was a portent. In the North-Western Provinces an attitude of the Government adverse to the influential classes of the old order could also be traced. The Government insisted with increasing strictness upon educational qualifications,even for the lowest posts. As early as 1852 the Government had ordered that no Chaprasi (messenger) or Barkandaz (police peon) should be appointed in any one of the eight districts of the North-Western Provinces then under the Visitor-General of Schools who could not produced a certificate from the Deputy Inspector of his district to show that he could read and write from an easy book, and that he knew the four rules of arithmetic.[2] This was followed by a Circular of the Sadr Board of Revenue, in the same year,[3] requiring a certificate of a higher order from Patwaris (village accountants). A similar test for Lambardars (village headmen) was proposed.

After the Mutiny, when the Muslims were in disfavour,the insistence upon an educational qualification pressed more hardly upon them,since they had lost many of their schools and colleges. Because of the active part played by the Maulvis and Muslim college staff in the Mutiny,"the College of Agra and Bareilly, and the

1. Siva Prasad quoted by Kempson,Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1863-4,p.57.
2.Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P.for the year 1861-2, p.21, Para.3
3.ibid.p. 21.3

Ajmer school were changed into Anglo-Vernacular institutions, and the Oriental departments being done away with,or absorbed into the new establishments, English thus became the study of all...[1]

While Muslims found themselves thus deprived of the old educational facilities,education officers, in charge of a system geared to English education persistently urged that "state employment ought to be a subject connected with State education". They attacked the practice of appointing to Government posts Muslims who were educated under the Oriental system. Inspector Raja Siva Prasad protested "It is a well-known fact that there is no nation on earth more opposed to education or enlightenment than the bigoted Muhammadans, and yet the Government disposed to allow them a monopoly of the best employments..."[2] Griffith,another Inspector of Education, appealed to higher authority for action: "Education must remain at a low ebb till we are able to tell those who consider all the best appointments under the Government as their inheritance, only because they are relatives or friends of the amlahs [staff][3], that appointments are to be the reward of merit, and cannot be claimed as an inheritance".[4] Kempson, forwarding the complaints,

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1.T.B.Cann,off.D.P.I. of the N.W.P.,Memorandum on the state of Vernacular Education in the upper schools of the N.W.P.,No.2479, dated March 24,1868,to the Govt. of the N.W.P.,p.4,Collections to Despatches, Home Dept. Ed. India,vol.13.

2. Siva Prasad,quoted by Kempson, Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P.,1863-4;p.57.

3. About the prejudice against the amlahs Sir George Campbell writes: "The undue influence of these men over their superiors is ridiculously magnified by those who know nothing about it. Popular grievance-mongers,people who have lost their suits,and Europeans who are not permitted to do as they like,represent a state of things which could only arise if either the "Omlah",...possessed preternatural powers, or their superiors were absolute idiots,;." Modern India,p.295.

4.Griffith,quoted by Kempson,Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. 1863-4,p.57.

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added his own strong plea to theirs.

Nor was this change confined to the education department only. Attacks upon the Muslim element and influence took place in other departments as well. In the judiciary, where the Muslim influence had been predominant, changes were made which had the effect of gradually excluding the Muslims from judicial administration. By an Act of 1861, the Supreme Courts, in which the Queen's judges had exercised jurisdiction over Europeans, and the Sudder Courts, which had been the Courts of Appeal for the Lower Courts of the Company, were amalgamated. In their place High Courts of judicature were established enjoying the powers and authority of both. These High Courts proceeded, by their bye-laws, to exclude all such Indian legal practitioners, appearing either before the High Courts or before their subordinate courts, as had not received an English education. The Muslims, unready as a community to take up the study of English, were thus effectually barred by these regulations from judicial offices.

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1. Kempson, ibid. pp.55-58. The response of the Government was as follows: "From your expressions it might fairly be inferred that the Govt. itself, as well as its officers, systematically discouraged the employment of educated natives. Such a charge is sufficiently disposed of in the proceedings of February last already referred to, and though perhaps pardonable in an officer like the Joint-Inspector Bàbù Siva Prasad on the score of ignorance, cannot be passed over without censure when coming so persistently from you".
Letter from R.Simson, Sec. to the Govt. of the North Western Provinces to M.Kempson, Director of Public Instruction No.2233A of 1864, dated 26th July 1864. P-199B, Para.41.
Report on the progress of Education in the North-Western Provinces, 1863-64 by M. Kempson.

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The same exclusion was even more directly aimed at by a memorandum submitted to Government in 1862 by Kempson. He dwelt first upon the defects in the administration of justice during the period of Muslim rule, and then proceeded openly to attack the continued presence of Muslim officials in government service. "A reference to the Court List, N.W.P., shows that, notwithstanding the disproportion in point of population, the number of Mussalmans in Government employ is nearly equal to the number of Hindoos, perhaps in the ratio of 25 to 27; yet Mussulmans in particular stand aloof from Government education. The majority of public servants of this class oppose it. Syud Ahmed Khan, who put himself rather conspicuously forward as the judge of the loyalty of his co-religionists generally in the late rebellion, says in one of his treatises that State education was one of the causes of the Disturbance (Essay on the Causes of Indian revolt, pp. 16, 17 and 18). In the very next page he is at great pains to find reasons, chiefly deduced from a contrast between the characters of the Hindoo and Mahomedan religions, why such a measure was very much more distasteful to the Musselmans than to the Hindoos - (vide p. 19 "in sub-batowse Mussalman banisbat Hinduke bahut ziyadah Naraz the"). He, however, omits to draw the logical conclusion that the Musalmans were, therefore, in one respect at least more ready to rebel. The true reason why measures for the improvement of the people are distasteful to this class of the community is the feeling that their power is likely to pass away from them.

"The above considerations lead to the conclusion that a reform in the constitution of our Civil Offices is necessary. It is in many respects advisable that this should be very gradually carried out; and I venture to propose the appointment by Government of a Law Professor as a beginning. The formation of Law classes, the specification of a course of study, and the institution of an examination for diplomas, cannot but lead to practical results".[1]

His scheme was readily approved by the Lieutenant Governor, though his overt attack upon the Muslims as an unreliable class was ignored, and the desirability of raising the standards of those classes from which Native offices were drawn, and hence of the administration, was stressed instead. The Lieutenant Governor agreed that "the examinations are confined almost entirely to rudimentary matters and to the routine of procedure. They do not extend to the general principles of Laws, to the questions of Hindoo and Mahomedan Law, to Laws of evidence or of contracts, etc; and the highest success in passing these examinations affords no assurance of a capacity to administer the law."[2] Accordingly, following Kempson's plan, a Professor of Law was appointed J.C. Smith, and as his assistant the Hindu Pandit Ajudhia Nath.

(It should be noted that such relics of the Mughal legal system as had been taken over and continued since the time of Warren Hastings also vanished at this time. Act XI of 1864 had declared

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1. M. Kempson, Memorandum No. 3, June 5th 1862, Enclosure to Ed. Despatch No. 6, 22nd June 1865, dated 11th April 1865. Collection to Educational Despatches, vol. No. 11, 1865-67.
2. Extract from the poceedings of the Govt. of India, in the Financial Dept., 15th October 1862, No. 735G. Enclosure to Despatch No. 6, 22nd June 1865, Letter dated 11th April 1865, Collection to Ed. Despatches, vol. 11, 1865-67.

that"it is unnecessary to continue the Hindu and Mohammadan law officers (who had advised the judges on the content of Indian law) and it is unexpedient that the appointment of Cazee-oo-Cozaat or Cazee should be made by Government")[1]

Government regulation indirectly, and some officials at times deliberately, struck at the position of Muslims in government employment. Muslims in senior posts there still were in the N.W.P., but as the emphasis on efficiency grew, the possibility of a later generation of Muslims following them in office became more uncertain. As Hunter said, "even in the District Collectorates, where it is still possible to give appointments in the old friendly way, there are few young Mussalman Amlah. The Muhammadan officers are for the most part white-bearded men, and they have no successors".[2]

The depression of the Muslims after the Mutiny had two effects: it prompted among some of them anti-Government activities within the Wahabi movement, and it gave to the Hindus a clear field. A realisation that this was so ultimately led to a revision of the Government's whole attitude to the Muslims -- and so permitted Sir Syed to dream of co-operation with the Government.

The Wahabi movement, even in the days when it was in full swing, was no match for the English Government; but it had produced a considerable group of Muslims who were ever ready to foster a spirit of disaffection and to take advantage of popular excitement.

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1. Act. No. XI, of 1864, The Legislative Acts of the G.G. of India in Council, from 1834 to the end of 1867, vol. IV, Calcutta, 1868, p. 349.
2. The Pioneer, June 28th, 1869.

The Sittana campaign in 1863, the results of the investigations at Patna, and the subsequent trials at Ambala greatly alarmed the English public. The existence of a well-organized conspiracy within the heart of the British area reminded them of all the horrors of the Mutiny. No sooner were the details out than the Wahhabi movement became the topic of the day.[1] Books were written, pamphlets were published, articles were contributed to the papers and information regarding it was exchanged in public letters. Attitudes to the Mutiny were revised in the light of the new informatinn. The Muslims were looked upon as the most dangerous and disloyal element of the population, and warnings were given to the Government to be more careful towards them. Sir John Low -- a member of the Supreme Council in the time of Lord Canning -- already convinced of the share of the Muslims in the Mutiny, was now thoroughly convinced that the Wahhabi Muslims formed the element most dangerous to the Government. He wrote to W. Taylor, the former Commissioner of Patna, "In regard to the terrible insurrection against us in 1857, I have always thought that, although our Hindoo Sepoys were the most numerous of our active enemies, yet that by far the most dangerous enemies ..... were Mahomedans ....."

"From the clear light that since that time has been thrown upon the conduct of Patna Mahomedans during that eventful year, and before it, I am decidedly of opinion that those Wahhabi chiefs and their

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1. A famous work written in those days is: W.W. Hunter's Our Indian Musalmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen? London, 1871.

relatives were more dangerous to us than Feroze Shah, Khan Buhadur Khan of Bareilly and any thousand of our sepoy Mahomedans all put together".[1]

Newspapers too, with due enthusiasm, portrayed the network of conspiracies spread all over British India and strongly urged the Government to wipe them out with strong hands. The Statesman, for instance, wrote "More than forty criminal societies are known to be spread over India, bound together by bonds which, except in rare instances, are never known to break .... the most disastrous being that of the Mohamedans' conspiracy".[2] The Friend of India did its best, likewise, to expose the existing dangerous condition of the country.[3]

However, other Muslims were hard at work to convince the Government that the irreconcilable attitude of the Wahhabis was not the only attitude which might be expected from the Muslim community. The great majority were only too anxious to live peacefully under British Government. 'Ulema, both in the Hijaz and India, came forward with Fatwas that India was a Dar-ul-Islam (House of Peace) and that Muslims should remain peaceful and loyal to the British Government.

The three chief Muftis at Mecca --- the Mufti of the Hanafi sect, the Mufti of the Shafa'i sect, and the Mufti of the Maliki sect (the Hambali were few in number in Mecca, and had no Mufti)

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1. Letter from General Sir John Low, to W. Tayler, dated 24th March 1868, W. Tayler, Selection of letters from distinguished Indian Statesmen and Others regarding my services during the Rebellion of 1857, First Series.
2. Quoted by The Pioneer, dated 17th Feb. 1869.
3. ibid.

issued Fatwas(Religious Verdicts)that India was Dar ul Islam;(House of Peace)and that it was illegal to wage a Jihad(Holy War) against the British Government.[1]

In 1870,Sayyid Amir Husain,Personal Assistant to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur,finding that inquiries were being made into the causes and extent of the Wahabi disaffection,sent a question[2] as to the lawfulness or otherwise of Jihad to Maulvi Sa'd ullah,the ablest of the learned Muslims of Lucknow.(During Muslim rule in Lucknow he had held the post of Mufti,(Jurist),and that time held both the posts of Mufti and Qazi (Judge)in the State of Rampur).On July 17,1870 the Mufti drew up a Fatwa indicating that Jihad was not lawful in British India(though he did not call it a Dar ul Islam)and loyalty to the Government was necessary,and after taking the signatures of nine 'Ulama of Delhi and Lucknow, forwarded it to a number of the Urdu newspapers for publication. An English translation was also forwarded to several of the English newspapers for the information of the Government. As it had stirred the mind of the people to make inquiries about this decision[3], Khan Bahadur 'Abd ul Latif, the Secretary of the Mahomedan Literary Society[4] of Calcutta,asked Maulvi Karamat 'Ali

1.Fatwas by the Muftis of Mecca,Jamal Ibn i 'Abd ullah, of the Hanafi sect,Ahmad bin Zaini Dahlan,of the Shafa'i sect, Husain bin Ibrahim, of the Maliki sect. Hunter, The Indian Musalmans,Appendix.1.,pp.213-4

2. The Question or Istifta is attached to Hunter's Indian Musalman Appendix.11.,p.214.

3.Lecture by Moulvie Karamat Ali of Jounpore on the Question of Mahomedan Law,involving the Duty of Mahomedans in British India towards the Ruling Power,at a meeting held at the residence of Khan Bahadur 'Abd ul Latif,Nov.23,1870,Proceedings,The Mahomedan Literary Society, Calcutta,p.2.

4.The Society was founded by Khan Bahadur 'Abd ul Latif in April 1863 and used to meet once a month at his residence. The object of the Society was to impart useful information to the higher and educated classes of the Muslim community by means of lectures,addresses and discourses on various subjects in literature and science. 'Abd ul Latif, A Short Account of my Public Life,pp.16-7.

to read a dissertation at the November meeting, in presence of other Maulvis and respectable persons. Maulvi Karamat 'Ali, after declaring that India was a Dar ul-Islam, proceeded thus: "Jihad can by no means be lawfully made in Dar ul-Islam.[1] This is so evident that it requires no argument or authority to support it. Now, if any misguided wretch, owing to his perverse fortune, were to wage war against the Ruling Powers of this country, British India, such war would be rightly pronounced rebellion; and rebellion is strictly forbidden by the Muhammadan Law. Therefore, such war will likewise be unlawful; and in case any one would wage such war, the Muhammadan Subjects would be bound to assist their Rulers, and, in conjunction with their Rulers, to fight with such rebels. The above has been clearly laid down in the Fatawa Alamgiri[2]".

These efforts on the part of the Muslims were not wholly unappreciated. W. Nassau Lees, late Principal of the Mohammadan College of Calcutta, pointed out to the Government this important change in the outlook of the Muslim scholars. He stated that the Muslim law as interpreted hitherto, had been a law for a conquering nation, but now that it had been interpreted to meet the existing subordinate position of the Muslim community. This change he pointed out to be of singular importance to the Government of India and its Muslim subjects. And he suggested that it should be encouraged by the Government.

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1. ibid. p. 6
2. ibid. p.6; Hunter, Appendix 111, p. 215,

And it should place the "large body of their well-affected Musalman subjects in a better position to resist the attacks upon their loyalty or any attempt to undermine it, on the score of religion, than they now are, to protect them, as it were, from incurring the odium theologicum".[1] Not only did he accept the opinion of "many people" that the Muslims were prepared to accept the supremacy of the English as an evil which must be endured because it could not be cured, but he further asserted that "they are quite prepared to live as peaceably and contentedly under British rule as they would under any Mahammadan Government they were likely to see established on its ruins, provided they were considerately treated and wisely and well governed".[2]

At this stage the Government very wisely revised its policy towards the Muslims. It hushed up the sensation. It emphasized its immense power and the weaknesses of the Muslims. It offered great compensation to the Muslims should they choose to accept a peaceful subordination.

Before the investigations were completed and the official resolution passed, the Pioneer, a supporter of the Government, was at work unofficially. To quieten the sensation created by the newspapers, it criticised, for instance, the above quoted article in the Statesman. It stated "He [the Indian Muslim] may subscribe to the holy cause, he may pray for it, and curse the infidel; but for the most part

1. W. Nassau Lees, Indian Mussalmans, Being three letters reprinted from the Times, Letter dated Oct. 20, p.14.
2. ibid. letter dated Oct. 20, 1871, p.11.

he knows nothing whatever about fighting, he has never been accustomed to the hardships of a campaign, he has no arms, and no leaders... In these days we have peace at home, we have in India an unwarlike generation of men not used to arms, while we ourselves have the very best weapon that science has invented; we have cut down all rivals on this continent; we have got all the strong places and all the treasures of the country. And yet able editors must needs go about cackling that our Empire is in sore peril from the Hindoo Trade-Unions and caste clubs, or from the impotent imprecations of the most degenerate Mussalmans in Asia."[1]

Another article soon followed. "We have recently protested rather strongly against sensational articles about fearful conspiracies in India and dismal prophecies of political catastrophe.... These things are mischievous ..." It dwelt upon 'the grain of truth' underlying all exaggeration, but exposed the folly of any Muslim hope of suceeding the British Government in power. It then went on "The Mahomedans have no reason to complain that they are dishonoured by being subject to us. Our title to India is as good as their own and they must accept the fortune of war. In the meantime we can offer them much good compensation for the wound which our dominion inflicts upon their self-esteem or religious prejudice. We can give them good government, which is the most that any one has a right to claim --- you have no right to a share in governing, but

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1. The Pioneer, Feb. 17, 1869.

you have a right to be well governed, -- we can give them a solid and valuable interest in our rule by developing sources of wealth and securing lives and property, -- we can uphold their privileges as British citizens all over mercantile Asia ... The Mahomadens of the present day may view this prospect with regret and reluctance, but they cannot help themselves so long as we are masters in the arts of war and administration, in which they are incomparably inferior to us in either department".[1]

Two months later, W.N. Lees wrote three letters at short intervals, to the Times. In his letter dated October 14th, 1871, he dwelt upon the dangers of the Wahhabi movement. He found "indisputable evidence" forthcoming to show that it was instrumental in intensifying the hostile and bitter feelings of fourteens years ago, and fomenting and fostering, if it did not originate the Mutiny of 1857.[2]

In his second letter dated October 20th, 1871, he, after quoting the grievances of the Muslims put forward by W.W. Hunter in his book, remarked that the Muslims had some other grievances too "which in secret they brood over". He found the Muslims in danger of being reduced to the level of "hewers of wood and drawers of water" unless something was done for them. "It would not be for the honour and glory of England", he concluded, "that history should record the consummation of such a result; while it will certainly not be for the interest of the British Government that, as some of its counsellors advise, it should aid in bringing it about."[3]

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1. The Pioneer, dated Feb. 24th, 1869.
2. These were gathered into the pamphlet Indian Mussalmans: Being three Letters reprinted from the Times, London, P. 5.
3. ibid. p.17.

In his third letter of 2nd November, he came forward with measures of reform. He also proposed a system of education which, he was sure, was in accordance with the Despatches of 1854 and 1859.[1]

Thus the wish to curb the Wahhabi movement was a considerable element in the change of government policy towards the Muslims. But there were other factors, too, which hastened the Government towards that decision. Most important of all was the growing political consciousness of the middle-class Hindus, and the Government's desire to use the Muslims as a balancing force.

First in Bengal, and then up-country too, higher education through English had brought the Hindus into contact with the economic, political and cultural life of the West. One of the results of such contact was the growth of self-consciousness among them. At first that self-consciousness had expressed itself through religious reform movements such as the Brahmo Samaj and the Neo-Hindu movements. Later, attention turned with increasing intensity upon the political situation in which they found themselves in their own country. Well-organised institutions were formed to put their demands to the British Government - and to put them in such a way as to prevent them being dismissed as mere idle excitement. The leaders in all this were very often those with a western education and contacts. "The present system of education", wrote the Rev. James Johnston, "is raising up a number of discontented and disloyal subjects. This is not so much felt in districts in which education is of recent origin

1. ibid. p.30.

and limited in extent to the wants of the locality. But in the old educational seats, especially in Bengal, this result of the Government system of direct education is painfully and alarmingly felt."[1] Other observers raised the same alarm about the unrest of the educated, that is, of the Hindus. "A gentleman, who lived for many years near one of the principal up-country Government Colleges, says of the young men educated at it: "They despise and hate their 'English conquerors, foreign rulers, proud tyrants', for such are the terms they use. 'Could Greece, 'they say, resist a Xerxes? What could India not do?' They demonstrate clearly that the Indians could in one night destroy all the English throughout the length and breadth of the country. An educated Hindustani, who had visited America, said to the writer, 'we are so many and you are so few, that if each of us took a pinch of dust we could smother you' ".[2]

Newspapers, too, were continuously turning the attention of the Government towards this growing danger. Some of the alarm was unnecessary and exaggerated. The Pioneer thus poured gentle scorn on the Statesman with its "vast conspiracies among a silent, reticent, vindictive people". It was probably correct in its judgement that "so long as the foreign conqueror does not interfere with their social and religious customs too harshly or violently, they will not only avail themselves gladly of the ease and wealth which a strong

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1. Rev. James Johnston, Our Educational Policy in India, quoted in The Higher Education in India by Roper Lethbridge, pp. 79-80, [illegible]

2. John Murdoch, (Indian Agent of the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India), Education in India, p.17.

administration lets them acquire, but they will constantly alter or modify their caste rules for their own comfort or self-interest, or to please powerful officials".[1] But the stir of political excitement was generally present, and most notably among the college-educated class.

Indeed they had travelled a long way since their political awakening in Bengal in the days of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who had impressed the claims of the natives to Government office upon the Board of Control. They had established, in Calcutta in April 1838 (under the guidance of Dwarkanath Tagore) the Landholders' Society. This Society had been recognized as the channel of communication between the State and the landholders. Replying to a letter of the Society's secretaries, W.C. Hurry[2] and Babu Prosonno Kumar Tagore, in which they had requested that they be permitted to address the Government through the medium of the Society's Secretary, in the same manner as was done by the Chamber of Commerce, the Secretary to the Deputy Governor wrote: the Hon'ble the Deputy Governor of Bengal will always be disposed to receive and consider the representations of any class of the inhabitants, affecting their own interests or the good of the community. The communication of the Landholders' Society, upon matters connected with the Land Revenue and Judicial Departments of the Government, must be addressed in due course through the Secretary of those Departments".[3]

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1. The Pioneer, Feb. 17th 1869.
2. The editor of the Englishman.
3. H.T. Prinsep, Secy. to the Deputy Governor of Bengal to the Secretaries of the Society, 1838, quoted by [illegible] Mittra, Memoir of Dwarkanath Tagore, p.30.

This Society, in course of time took up several questions of importance such as the resumption of land, regulations for the sale of zamindari on account of arrears of revenue, and vernacular encouragement and though this provoked hostile criticism in certain quarters, it was appreciated both by Lord William Bentinck and Lord Auckland.[1]

Some thirteen years later on 29th October, 1851, another organisation had been founded in Calcutta under the name of the British Indian Association, to "promote the improvement and efficiency of the British Indian Government by every legitimate means in its power, and thereby to advance the common interests of Great Britian and India, and ameliorate the condition of the native inhabitants of the subject country."[2] The Association was kept free from European influence and was entirely Indian in its composition. Out of 49 members of the Association there were 47 Hindu men, one Hindu lady, Shrimati Rasmuce Dassi and one Muslim, Shah Kabir-ud-Din.[3] Through this Association the Hindus began to exert their influence upon the actual policy of the Government. As an object of primary importance the Association had taken upon itself "to make such respectful but earnest representations to the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain on the occasion of ensuing discussion of the E.I.Company's Charter, as might be calculated to remove the existing defects in the laws and civil administration of that country, and to promote

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1. ibid.
2. Rules of the British Indian Association Established 29th October, 1851, p.3.
3. ibid. p.2. The high fee for membership Rs. 50 per year, might be one reason why Muslims did not become members.

the general welfare and interest of its people". This Association served to create a considerable measure of political consciousness among upper-class Hindus.

Nor were political activities, so largely Hindu-led, confined to India only. The management Committee of the B.I. Association had appointed a certain G.J. Gordon[1] as its agent in London for the purpose of presenting to Parliament and the Home Authorities such petitions as it might forward to him for the purpose. More important, in 1853 the Indian Reform Society was formed by Indians in London and won the sympathy and help of such influential Englishmen as Viscount Goderich (who later became Marquis of Ripon). The India Reform Society was succeeded by the London India Society and the East India Association.

In the first decades after the Mutiny the Hindu press had also grown in status and importance. It had left the stage when it merely collected second-hand news. There was eager and informed discussion of the questions of the day, the Government's actions were closely scrutinised, and the Indian press had a hundred objections to raise and a hundred sehemes to propound. As the Pioneer put it, the Hindus "perfectly appreciated the value of our lights and were using them to scrutinise and criticise our actions."[2] Though the Hindu Press could not claim to represent the voice of the whole nation, the ideas of its editors, who would "write on every item",

1. A partner of Mackintosh & Co., which was a leading firm in those days. N.S. Mittra, Memoirs, p.6.
2. See the Pioneer for May 8th, 1868.

and "write with the authority of knowledge and ability"[1] were nevertheless not easily overlooked by the Government. By 1870 there were 21 leading Hindu newspapers.[2]

Nor was the political advance of the Hindus to be seen only outside, and in critical relation to the Government. In 1868 more of the higher posts in the administration had been thrown open to Indians by competition.[3] In the existing condition of the two communities, they were virtually thrown open to Hindus only. (The Pioneer and Sir Syed had both noted that the first six candidates who had gone to England and there successfully competed in the I.C.S. examination were all Hindus).

Such a lop-sided advance could not pass unnoticed by Muslims whose self-consciousness, by 1869, was also growing. "The after influence of the Wahhabi movement was fast restoring the faith to its earlier purity. The British Government by recognizing and acting on the Musalman law between Musalmans, and the Hindu law between the Hindus, had accentuated the differences between the followers of the two religions".[4] Any policy, which benefitted greatly only the more advanced community was sure to create discontent among the other.

The third factor in changing the policy of the Government towards the Muslims was the international situation. In 1869 the

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1. Pillars of the Empire, p.137
2. The Bengal Directory for 1870, p.377.
3. Minute by Sir W. Muir, Lieutenant Governor of the N.W.P., quoted in the Pioneer, April 9th, 1868, p.7.
4. Thomas, The Mutual Influence of Muhammadans and Hindus, p.100. Le Bas Prize Essay for 1891.

Suez Canal was completed and a short, all-water route to the Indian Ocean was thus opened which greatly facilitated trade via the middle East and excited the attention of many countries having commercial interests in the East. The purchase of Suez Canal shares by Disraeli heightened the rivalries of other countries such as Germany, France and Russia. A little later the Baghdad Railway pact, with its "great promise for the economic and political regeneration of the Near East", was signed. The strategical command of the Euphrates, and also of the Tigris as far as Baghdad, became a foremost interest of the British Government. Strategy demanded that the Government maintain a hold over Persia and Turkey. The political condition of the Sultan was very weak,yet to safeguard interests in the Near East a strong government was necessary in Turkey. Moreover "The problem of maintaining stable government in Turkey was complicated by the religious heritage of the Ottoman Empire".[1] The Sultan was considered the religious head of the whole orthodox Muslim world. Support for the Sultan and an unsympathetic attitude towards Indian Muslims were policies scarcely to be reconciled. "There was the necessity of the Moslem name, and influence, and sympathy working Indiawards in our favour".[2] The development of interest in Persia, growing as fears of Russian advance were aroused, and finding expression in the guarantees offered in 1878, tended in the same direction.

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1. Earle, Edward Mead, Turkey, the Great Powers and the Bagdad Railway, p.6.
2. J.A. Partridge, The Policy of England in relation to India and the East, p.12.

It was thus at a favourable moment that Sir Syed sailed for England on 1st April 1869 along with his two sons.[1] He was welcomed in England as a leader of the North Indian Muslims. Indeed both in England and in India he held a responsible position, as stated by Tufail Ahmad Manglori, "Government had great confidence in him as its most loyal subject, Muslims /of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh/ loved him as their benefactor and friend, and the Hindus considered him a zealous patriot. So much so that people had begun to spread the rumour that Government had bought his head and would, after his death, dissect it to find out why he had been so wise".[2]

In England he was given many opportunities of meeting the Duke of Argyll, the Secretary of State for India, Lord Lawrence the late Governor General and members of the India Council and members of Parliament[3] and of discussing with them the political problems of India.[4] Sir Syed himself has not left any record of these conversations. But it is clear that they made him consider, and compare, the existing condition of the Hindus and Muslims, and to estimate their probable position in that future, distant perhaps, when western political institutions should fully prosper in India.

His own newly sharpened interest in the comparative position of Muslims and Hindus found echoes in India too. Even before Sir Syed had sailed the Pioneer had drawn a pungent contrast between the Hindu and Muslim press in India.

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1. Ikram, Mauj i Kausir, p.73.
2. Tufail Ahmad Manglori, Musalmanon ka Raushan Mustaqbil, p.198. 5th ed.
3. Sir Syed, Khutut, letters to Muhsin ul Mulk from London dated June, 4, 1869; July 19, 1869; and August 20, 1869, pp.25, 31, 39.
4. ibid.

"One very marked distinction may be observed between Hindoo and Mussalman Journals. Of the latter, four are given in the official return of the Bengal Presidency, and, if we might judge from them, the Mussalman population have a wide distance to travel before they are fitted for the discharge of high administrative functions. Our objection is not so much to their views as to the absence of any views whatever on public questions. They contain news and pass strictures on local officials, but they appear to be wholly incapable for writing a respectable essay, either sound or unsound, on the measures of the day. The same difference is observed by the officers of Public Instruction with regard to Mussalman children.... The truth is that the Mahomedan population, whether boys or men, are standing sulkily aloof from the new system, which the events of the past hundred years have introduced".[1] Soon after Sir Syed had sailed,[2] came a comment which carried the argument from a particular to a general plan. "A great section of the India population some thirty million in number, finds itself decaying under British rule."[3] And then, starting with a comment on the report of the Committee appointed in 1865 to investigate the condition of the Calcutta Madrassa,

which came out in 1869, the Pioneer chose to take up as a main topic for that year a general comparison of Hindu and Muslim achievements. The series of articles which it published was the work of W.W. Hunter (and collected, formed his work "The Indian Musalmans").

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1. The Pioneer, May 8th, 1868.
2. It was Colonel Graham, Sir Syed's friend, who advised Sir Syed to visit England. Sir W. Muir, the Lieutenant Governor N.W.P., nominated his son Sayyid Mahmud for a Government scholarship for higher studies in England.
3. The Pioneer, June 28th 1869.

The long sequence of Hunter's unsigned articles exposed the unfavourable circumstances of the Muslims, their exclusion from all official and independent careers and their rapid political decline. The whole process was analysed from the time when the Muslims, a century back, had had the lion's share of the Company's patronage to the present when "the Hindus poured into and completely filled every grade of official life in Lower Bengal."[1]

Sir Syed in England read all these articles with great attention and quoted parts of them to Muhsin ul Mulk, whom he urged to read them all. He drew his particular attention to the decline of Muslims in office holding which Hunter had described and remarked that his fears had thus been confirmed by others.

He thus continued to ponder in England the problem which had exercised him in India -- that of persuading the Muslims to renounce their distaste for the system of Western education. The numerical strength of the Hindus, their rapid advance in every field filled him with a sense of fear, "Fear of permanent domination -- educationally, economically, politically -- of Muslims by Hindus".[2]

The problem was one which had perplexed him in India, but his ideas on how it might be tackled were profoundly altered by what he saw in England, by his direct observation and study of Western civilization and its system of education. Thus from two events, the language controversy and the change in Government's treatment of the

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1. The Pioneer, June 28th, 1869.
2. Philips, India, p.112.

Muslims -- Sir Syed received a further impulse towards a policy of communal reform of his co-religionists. And then his personal acquaintance with Western civilization during his stay in England suggested to him the proper lines for such social reform.

Before his visit to England, though Sir Syed had been more far-sighted than most of his countrymen, he had been a student of the western system of education, of its effect upon culture and progress, only at second hand and in the imperfect model built in India. The educational activity of the British Government in Northern India was so limited and so unorganized as to be but a travesty of the English educational system. Once in England he realized how far western education was from being adequately represented by the system erected in India.

In England and Scotland he was able to visit many important educational institutions. He made a point of seeing for himself such traditional centres of English education and culture as Eton and Harrow, Oxford and Cambridge.[1] It is significant that Sir Syed visited the Public Schools when they were at the zenith of their influence. Quite recently all these schools had been reorganized with great care and diligence. New subjects, in particular science, had been introduced into the curriculum. The schools produced a recognized type of student, loyal, honest, and self-confident.[2] Both in the schools and at the universities Sir Syed exchanged ideas upon educational problems ~~with~~

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1. Sir Syed's son, Sayyid Mahmud, who had come with him to England, was now at King's College, Cambridge, where he read for Honours.
2. Board of Education, The Public Schools and the General Educational System. Report of the Committee on Public Schools appointed by the President of the Board of Education in July 1942, p.29.

with masters and professors. He asked for lists of all the books generally recommended for all classes of students. But if he did that he also realised that the choice of books and curricula was not the only, or the predominant factor in the education of an English gentleman. There were many more things which participated in the moulding of general character. The presence of able, highly qualified professors, the discipline of schools and especially of boarding life, the importance of social gatherings, the life outside the lecture rooms, on the playing-fields and in the debating societies, in short every phase of life in school and university participated in the education of an Englishman. He understood the spirit of these institutions and felt that he had been studying not so much "homes of learning, on the whole, than microcosms of English intellectual life".[1] These were the centres, Sir Syed saw, where those few thousands of civil servants were trained who actually ruled the twenty-six million people of India; and where the character of those Empire builders was moulded. He realized that in the houses of these schools and in the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge the students found communities of a size appropriate to their years and were thus enabled to work in and for a society composed of very different types, to sacrifice their personal wishes to the general good, to find their place in the community and to be ready, if called upon, to take responsibility. The fact that the pupils who attended the great public schools were

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1. Andrew Lang, quoted by Muhammad 'Ali, The proposed Mohamedan University, p.12.

drawn very largely, and sometimes without exception, from the wealthier classes; and that the discipline and teaching were moulded by the wants and capabilities of the boys who attended; and that the curricula were specifically adapted to the Universities' needs; and that the schools had strong religious traditions, struck him most forcibly. Here was the educational system which the Muslim aristocracy in India had been looking for, and for lack of which they had rejected such educational facilities as the Government had there provided. Having seen the system at work, Sir Syed could not condemn them for their prejudices. Rather, the singular attention paid by the English to the preservation of their traditions and prejudices, convinced him that every nation inherits some prejudices and traditions according to the achievements of its ancestors and takes pride in their conservation. The Muslims who could boast of achievements by their ancestors which surpassed those of any other nation, could not be condemned for having a desire to preserve them. Rather, their prejudices and their traditions should be consciously revised and preserved and should be used to restore their self-confidence, the first step towards their regeneration and progress.

Sir Syed at once began to plan the creation of a university, modelled on Oxford and Cambridge, which should cater for upper-class Muslims. Nothing he felt could be better devised to meet their prejudices than such a scheme, which yet would give them the true benefits

of western sciences and literature. Removed from the severe competition of Calcutta University, with its middle-class scramble for places and utilitarian readiness to reproduce "the ill-digested acquisitions of an unhealthy industry"[1], students at his university would be able to apply themselves to such branches of knowledge as suited the bent of their minds. In particular, special arrangements for teaching the classical languages, so neglected in Calcutta University, would preserve and revive the worthiest elements of Islamic culture.

From these institutions --- remarkable for their independence of Government --- influences radiated out to a whole series of further bodies. Their great influence upon the political and social life of England, achieved without Government assistance, gave Sir Syed a most intense faith in the possibilities of private effort. On 10th September, 1869, commenting very briefly upon the achievements of Europe, he wrote to Muhsin ul-Mulk, "One is more astonished to see that all this is being achieved privately, independently of the Government. Looking at this, one can realize that in India, if a good number of individuals pay attention to and strive for learning and civilization they can achieve much without the help of the Government."[2]

This belief in self-help grew steadily more intense, and long before he left London he was convinced that he could count on it for the success of his mission. "If you were here, you would see how

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1. The Friend of India of 15th June 1875, quoted by the A.I.G., August 20th, 1875, p.521.
2. Khutut, letter to Muhsin ul-Mulk dated Sept. 10th, 1869, p.41.

training is given to the children; what is the method of education; how knowledge is acquired, and how a nation wins prestige. If God pleases, I will tell all and will do all after my returning home".[1] He began to plan the establishment of a College, similar to the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, for the education of children of the Muslim nobility. On 29th April 1870 he wrote to Muhsin ul-Mulk: "If a separate school specially for the Muslims be established, it will be a blessing for us. No night passes but we talk about and plan for the establishment of such a College. But nothing is possible without ten lakh rupees".[2] However, he worked out the major outlines of his future programme for the reform and betterment of the Muslims before he left England.

Though so concerned with the possibilities of a private Muslim educational system, he nevertheless still looked to the possible improvement of the existing Government system of education in India so as to make it more efficient and beneficial. To this end he wrote a "Stricture upon the present Educational System in India", and sent several copies to the Secretary of State under a covering letter dated September 3rd, 1869.[3] In this pamphlet he pointed out the defects of the existing system of education in India. He complained that the Government had first unjustly forced the Indian student to study, in a foreign language, western sciences and literature, thus depriving him of his mother tongue and cultural heritage, and then had compelled

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1. ibid., letter dated 11th Feb. 1870, p.58.
2. ibid., letter dated 29th April, 1870, p.67, 2nd ed.
3. Public Educational and Ecclesiastical Dept. Home Correspondence Letters sent 1st Jan. 1868 to 31st Dec. 1870, letter No. 2583, vol.3 letter dated Sept. 16th.

him to compete at the age of twenty, with English students, in English subjects and in the English language. If the Indian student seemed backward, the British Government in India was surely to blame. "The Government", he remarked, "can not be absolved from its duty until it shall have established a system of education such as will enable Indian youth to acquire so much knowledge by the age of 20, that he may come to England, and there compete on level terms in the Civil Service".[1]

This pamphlet attracted comment and criticism. Some high Government officials expressed their resentment. As it was put forward without the backing of any political body, the Government treated it as an embodiment of Sir Syed's personal opinion. Thus it failed in achieving its main object of persuading the Government to overhaul its educational policy in India. At least one book was written to refute the charges raised against the Government. In 1870, Raja Siva Prasad,[2] Joint-Inspector of Schools in the N.W. Provinces, published in Benares his "Stricture upon Stricture of Syed Ahmed Khan". In this Raja Siva Prasad defended the Governmet, asserting that the system of education Sir Syed was demanding had already been established by the Government, (though the natives did not avail themselves of it on account of their prejudices).[3] Disapproving of Sir Syed's demand for posts in the Civil Service he explained: "The hope

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1. Sir Syed, Stricture upon the Present Educational System in India, p.18.
2. Raja Siva Prasad was always a zealous defender of the British. Thus he came out with long speeches against the Ilbert Bill on the grounds that the Indian was unfit to rank with Englishmen. M. Kempson, the Director of Public Instruction was very warm in his support, and the Raja ended as Raja Bahadur and G.C.S.I., though the Bengalis burnt his effigy during the Ilbert Bill controversy. (See his Autobiography, in Urdu, published in Lucknow in 1896.
3. Siva Prasad, Stricture upon Stricture of Syed Ahmed Khan, p.14.

of our country rests, not with the Civil Service, but with the development of her raw produce, which can be achieved by the contentment of the people with a light assessment and by the maintenance of peace with a strong European army of occupation. But for all this we look to our "fair complexioned" fellow subjects. "Our policy ought to be to provide all the inducements we can to bring out the best of them".[1] He condemned Sir Syed for showing a desire to be equal with the English and called it "a chimerical idea". He was afraid of "grave and mighty consequences" that might follow from the raising of natives to such high positions, and would "prefer to go and live in the Andeman Island rather than to be a witness of the ruin which would thus be brought upon my dear country".[2] He concluded, "As long as light and darkness differ, English and Indian cannot under the condition of the case be equal."[3]

Sir Syed's visit to England had made him view in a different light the educational system established by the British Government in India. It also made him reconsider his attitude to the learning and culture of India itself. He had left India with a full confidence in Indian or Muslim culture, and a conviction that only minor reforms were needed to make that culture superior to all others. He was not unconscious of the vices existing among certain classes of the Hindu and Muslim communities. Some, he thought, were born of social customs,[4] but many others he attributed to that state of subjugation

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1. ibid. pp. 14-15.
2. ibid. p.15.
3. ibid. p.16.
4. Sir Syed, Lecture, July 5th 1866, Mik Maj, pp. 30-31.

to a foreign rule[1] to which Indians had been reduced after the fall of the Mughals. He ascribed the corruption of Indian morals to the adverse effect of the presence of the conquering nation. Thus in a speech at the Aligarh Scientific Society Institute on "How the respectable and influential people should use their power and influencefor the benefit of their fellow countrymen",he said: "When we think how in the flower garden of the nations of the world each has its fragrance,and that such fragrance,the character of the nation, and thus of its people,we rejoice in the belief that we too possess most of the ingredients of such a perfume. It is therefore necessary for every man who has influence among us that he should endeavour to preserve our good character,and check those tendencies created by the presence of individuals of a nation,able to conquer but empty in its pomp. For however good and honest the intentions of us the conquered,the victor nation is unable to appreciate that our national character[2] /by that conquest/ is necessarily apt to be corrupted".

Such accidental "vices" he had sought to eliminate by appealing to those Indians who enjoyed influence and esteem. Among those social evils he included the dowry system,infanticide,polygamy, prostitution,etc.[3] But it seems that,in spite of being aware of some social corruptions among the Indian people,he did not at first think of suggesting the adoption of western culture as the means towards social progress. It is true that he eagerly wanted his

1. ibid. p.30.
2. ibid. p.30.
3. ibid. p.30.

countrymen to learn the new sciences, because in the development of these sciences he saw the main reason for that general progress of the Western nations of which he was quite conscious. By learning the modern sciences he believed the Indian, whether Muslim or Hindu, could attain the degree of civilization which the West had already reached. "The progress of arts and science depends upon Europe and America. America and many European countries are beyond our reach, but the treasures of English knowledge are within our access.... In order to attain national dignity and distinction and to advance our culture and civilization, we have to do that which the European people, or those who are our guests and brothers have done. What have they done? They have done nothing except advance knowledge, and achieved every thing through that".[1] But if he acknowledged Europe's lead in science he was convinced, before his visit to Europe, of the social and cultural superiority of the Indians to the Western people. He obviously felt no need of changing the values and standards of Indian society. They were good in themselves,[2] and he advised the people to adhere to them. He recognised only a need to reform certain specific social corruptions and the even greater need for Indians to employ the sciences for practical purposes, as Europe had already done, by means of acquiring them through their mother tongue. Thus in his lecture on the cultural progress of the Indians on the 20th September 1867 he defended the social manners

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1. Sir Syed, speech at the Benares Institute at the residence of Babu Fateh Narain Singh, on the cultural progress of the Indians, September 20th 1867, Muk. Maj., pp.44.
2. Speech, July 5th, 1866, Muk. Maj. pp. 29-30.

of the Indian people on the ground that all nations have their own social ways, which result from the particular geographical conditions of their land, and therefore naturally vary from nation to nation. He considered it against the canons of civility to think ill of a nation because of its peculiar social manners.[1]

Yet his belief in the cultural superiority of the Indians did not prevent Sir Syed from advocating a closer contact between the Indians and the English people. In 1862, as has been pointed out, he had removed Muslim suspicions that the Bible had been tampered with; in 1868 he wrote a booklet Kitab Ta'am ahl i Kitab (Book on Dining with People of the Book) to remove "barriers of hollow customs which did not permit interdining between Musalman and Englishman".[2] Supporting his view with verses of the Quran, the sayings of the Prophet and the Fatwa of orthodox 'Ulama, Sir Syed pointed out that interdining with Christians was not only lawful but obligation in existing conditions.[3] "Besides the loving ties" based on religion, "he asserted, "there are other ties which are lawful according to the Shari'a. Not only is there no harm in them but they are binding upon us. And it is our duty that we should extend to all, whether polytheist or people of the Book, that kindness and love which is in the religion of Muhammad and

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1. ibid, pp.43-44.
2. Natesan (ed.), Eminent Musalmans, p.36.
3. Sir Syed, Kitab Ta'am ahl i Kitab, p.2.

should make ourselves a model of Muhammad's kindness so that they may believe in Islam, and instead of going astray in darkness may follow the right path"[1].

He was not afraid to condemn the 'Ulama who failed to point out to the people these true orders of God and the Prophet -- and even to suggest that the failure was due to the wish to retain the respect -- and the fee -- of the ignorant[2].

The publication of this booklet, as could be expected, created great resentment among the Muslims. Sir Syed was called a Christian and people abstained from eating in his company. Refutations of his booklet were written[3]. Some Muslim writers tried to make all Muslims refuse to eat with Sir Syed. But as Hali relates, soon all opposition was averted and "even those who were loudest in condemning Sir Syed, began to eat with Christians"[4].

However his ideas about the cultural superiority of Indians were changed with his visit to Europe. He lost his confidence in Indian culture and was overwhelmed by the lustre of Western culture.

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1. ibid, p.45.
2. ibid. p.45.
3. For instance, Imdad ul 'Ali, Imdad ul Ihtisab ; Muhammad 'Ali, Hujjat ul Fa'iqah and Muhammad 'Ali, Muzil ul Auham.
4. Hali, Hayat, vol.1., p.147.

In India he could see English life only in the limited society composed of civil and military officials. Their social behaviour in relation to the natives was generally ruled by a feeling that a certain official arrogance was necessary if the people of India were to be kept in subjection. In any case the want of community of feelings resulting from the difference of economic and social interests generally led the English to live in aloofness.[1] Hence neither Sir Syed nor any other Indian could obtain a full view of English social life in India which itself could not truly represent the Western civilization in all its details. Sir Syed was well aware of English influence, especially in its technical aspects, upon India, but the full vigour of English society at home was quite unknown to him. When he did see it in England, he "saw it in full swing and was overwhelmed with it, dazed like a young child"[2] For during his seventeen months' stay in England he saw a wide section

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1. Coupland has thus explained the reason for this English aloofness: "There were only a few thousands of them/the English/ stationed among the Indian millions, and they were cut off for years at a time from faraway England and subjected to the strains and influences of the alien Asiatic world all round them. It was with a sort of defensive instinct, therefore, that they held aloof, clinging to the way of life that made them English, building their foreign-looking Government Houses and offices and bungalows, zealously pursuing their English sports, running their English clubs, admitting Indians on occasion and as a duty to a social intercourse which, it must be remembered, could not be really close or equal as long as Indian women, Moslem and Hindu alike, were excluded from it". Britain and India, p.40.
2. Smith, Modern Islam in India, p.17.

of English life, and came in contact with many personalities of great importance. In a letter written in the first excitement of arrival he reported, with naive delight, "At this moment I am in receipt of thirty invitation cards and some ten or fifteen tickets. These are all from Lords and Knights[1]". But during his stay he made a serious efforts to study all aspects of society and of English public life. He met men of various classes and various professions. He visited various parts of Britain, and saw both universities (English and Scottish) and factories, went to Government offices and to the races, viewed both libraries and clubs.

In a later letter home he summed up very fully and with the usual frankness of his mind what he had seen in England and what he felt about the social conditions of his countrymen. "I have been unable", he wrote, "to see many things that I should have liked to see, I have still been able to see a good deal, and have been in the society of lords and dukes at dinners and evening parties. I have also mixed a good deal in that middle class society to which I myself belong. I have seen many ladies of high family and first-rate education. I have also observed the habits and customs and way of living of high and low, and seen the workshops of great merchants, the shops of smaller ones, the method of their storing and selling, their wares, and the manner in which they treat their customers. Artisans and the common working-men I have seen in numbers. I have

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1. Sir Syed, Khutut, letter to Muhsin ul-Mulk, dated June 18th, 1869, p.36.

visited famous and spacious mansions, museums, engineering works, shipbuilding establishments, gun-foundries, ocean-telegraph companies which connect continents, vessels of war - in one of which I walked for miles, the Great Eastern Steamship - have been present at the meetings of several societies, and have dined at clubs and private houses. The result of all this is, that although I do not absolve the English in India of discourtesy and of looking upon the natives of that country as animals and beneath contempt, I think they do so from not understanding us; and I am afraid I must confess that they are not far wrong in their opinion of us. Without flattering the English, I can truly say that the natives of India, high and low, merchants and petty shopkeepers, educated and illiterate, when contrasted with the English in education, manners and uprightness are as like them as a dirty animal is to an able and handsome man. The English have reason for believing us in India to be imbecile brutes. Although my countrymen will consider this opinion of mine an extremely harsh one, and will wonder what they are deficient in, and in what the English excel, to cause me to write as I do, I maintain that they have no cause for wonder, as they are ignorant of everything here, which is really beyond imagination and conception.... I am not thinking about those things in which, owing to the specialties of our respective countries, we and the English differ, I only remark on politeness, knowledge, good faith, cleanliness, skilled workmanship, accomplishments, and thoroughness which are the

results of education and civilization. All good things spiritual and wordly, which should be found in man, have been bestowed by the Almighty on Europe, and especially on England. By spiritual good things I mean that the English carry out all the details of the religion which they believe to be the true one, with a beauty and excellence which no other nation can compare with. This is entirely due to the education of the men and women, and to their being united in aspiring after this beauty and excellence. If Hindustanis can only attain to civilisation, India will probably, owing to its many excellent natural powers, become if not the superior, at least the equal of England."[1]

His "cultural pilgrimage" to England acquainted him with modern civilization. It also gave him an awareness of certain social decadence. He instructively contrasted the dark side of Muslim Society with the bright features of English life -- and became the more determined to effect reform. What struck him most was, the stagnancy of the Muslim community in India compared to the vigour of English society, constantly impelled by the growth of the modern sciences. He did not take refuge in any assumptions about the moral superiority of his people, but set about planning social reforms on lines which savoured much of nineteenth century rationalism. His London letters have much to tell us about how he was "tossing in the fire of anguished love for his people,"[2] and how his thoughts turned to them". .... after

1. Sir Syed, letter to the Secretary of Scientific Society Aligarh dated Oct. 15th, 1869, cited in Graham's Life, pp.183-4. Strikingly enough this letter has not been included in the only collection of his letters published by his grandson Sir Ross Masud in 1924, most probably because of the resentment it caused among Muslims upon its publication in the Aligarh Institute Gazette.
2. Hali, Hayat, vol. 2, p.57.

looking at the conditions over here, the thought of the folly and absurd prejudice, the present decay and the future disgrace of my own country and people has increased the grief many fold. Alas! the Muslims of India are drowning and there is no one to pull them out. What a pity they spit out the ambrosia and swallow venom..."[1]

Nor was it only the comparison between English and Muslim Indian society which aroused his grief. In England he was able to study Turkish reforms which no less emphasised the stagnant condition of the Muslims in India. The Turkish reforms also sharpened his belief that the root of that stagnation was to be found in conservatism, in adherence to ancient authority, in fact in religious prejudice. He became convinced that unless the religious prejudice which prevented men from adopting new standards of social life was eradicated from the minds of Indian Muslims, and their social attitudes liberally Westernized, the progressive reform of their community was impossible. To him it was the very liberal policy of the Turkish Sultans in Europeanizing their people that had saved Turkey from destruction. The same policy he suggested for the Indian Muslims. "If Sultan Mahmud had not given up those prejudices and had not Sultan Abdul Majid continued the policy adopted by Sultan Mahmud, no vestige of the Turks and the Muslims would have been left to-day in the world after the invasion of the Russians, and God knows what would have happened in the Arabian peninsula.

"And if the present ruler, Sultan Abdul Majid had not followed

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1. Sir Syed, Khutut, letter dated Feb. 11th, 1870, p.76.

the same methods, in still more unprejudiced fashion, as he has done, it would have not been beyond the bounds of possibility for the Empire to have collapsed, so gloomy and degraded was the condition unto which it had fallen. It was very difficult for those three Sultans in following the way of Europe to escape from the attacks of the rude and bigoted Turks, and the reproaches of the silly and foolish Maulvis and Qazis. But those 'Ulama who were wise and unprejudiced proclaimed those things which the Sultan himself wanted, and without which the progress of the Muslims was in fact impossible, to be valid, lawful and quite in conformity with the Canon law".[1] With the Turkish example before him, he could argue that the social forces in the Indian Muslim community could not be set in motion, to work in harmony with the forces of the new civilization, unless they were unfettered from traditionalism. He accepted logic and science as the real criteria by which he judged the validity of the social customs developed within the Muslim society, and he rejected such social traditions as appeared to him to be irrational. "The condition of the Muslims", he wrote, "as described in the books which are composed in the world, and are published and sold every day, makes a man wish he were dead. No doubt there is much truth in them; we have really adopted methods which bring disrepute to Islam."[2]

He hints here, at what he elsewhere makes plain, that by his rational criticism he does not seek to separate social morality from the general body of religious principles, but, on the contrary he

1. Sir Syed, Khutut, dated April 29th 1870, p.89, 1st ed.
2. ibid., letter dated April 29th 1870, p.90, 1st ed.

plans for social reconstruction on what he thinks to be the real teachings of Islam.It is by separating social customs and traditions, which have been added over the centuries,from the quranic injunctions that he seeks to defend Islam against the attacks which were directed against it by the European authors."The works of the Muslims contain in them reliable and unreliable,true and false traditions; and they do not deserve that every word of them should be taken to amount to original religion. It is,therefore,an absurdity in those who have selected traditions from our books to make allegations against our religion or the holy Prophet".[1]

This style of defence of the essentials of Islam he undertook in his famous series of essays on the life of Muhammad,the Al Khutbat ul Ahmadiya,[2] essays which he wrote during his stay in England, But we are less concerned here with his rationalistic philosophy of religion than with the social outlook to which his rationalism gave birth, and the new political views which his visit had fostered. The fact was that "....whilst he wished to cling to essentials,it was his aim to break down the rigidity which had come upon Islam in recent centuries."[3]

In India, Sir Syed's fidelity to the British Government was mostly traditional. On his way to England he saw a full expression of its power and resources which strengthened his conviction that loyalty was the proper attitude. What he saw gave him also a sense of protection which the British power promised to India against foreign invasions. Thus when he saw the British cantonment at Aden,

1. Sir Syed,letter August 6, 1869,Khutut,p.47.
2. The English version was published in 1870 in London before the original text version was published in India.
3. Kohn,A History of Nationalism in the East, p.112.

he wrote home:"The sight of it filled my heart with a sense of British power. It is the outlying sentry on the road to India, and the key to the Red Sea. If trouble were to break out in India, any amount of munitions of war could be poured into it in six days. If a quarrel broke out with the Egyptian Government, or the French made an attack on the country, an expedition could soon reach Egypt from Aden with food and arms for 50,000 men. I say that it is the key of the Red Sea, because the present force in it is sufficient, if necessary, to prevent a single vessel getting into or out of the Red Sea".[1]

It was the same feeling, compounded of loyalty and a sense of protection, which made Sir Syed, six months after his arrival in England, reply as he did to Sir John Kaye. Kaye, who was then composing his great history of the Mutiny, asked Sir Syed's opinion "as to the extent to which the Mutiny of 1857 grew into a popular rebellion in the N.W. Provinces". Sir Syed in his reply, sought to convince him that it was never a popular revolt. He brought forward most of the arguments he had already used in his Causes of the Indian Revolt, writing, "As far as my personal knowledge extends respecting the Sepoy Revolt of 1857, and from all that I have learnt from investigation, I find that even the use of the expression "Military Mutiny" conveys an idea of something more than the real fact".[2] Kaye's own opinion about the Mutiny had been that "it was not a

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1. Sir Syed quoted by Graham, Life, 2nd ed., p.89.
2. Sir Syed's letter to Sir J.W. Kaye, dated Dec. 14th, 1869, Home Misc., vol. 725. Mutiny papers of Sir J.W. Kaye, Narratives, Diaries, Memoranda, etc., pp. 1011-2.

mere military Mutiny"[1]*

In another letter written at much the same time to "an august English friend"[2], who may well have been Kaye, Sir Syed pointed out that though Islam was opposed to despotism, preferring a chief to rule with the advice and consent of influential representatives of the community, it did bind Muslim subjects to obey a non-Muslim government if it were tolerant.[3]

If Sir Syed selected loyalty to the British as the most suitable policy for the Muslims in the existing circumstances, he also saw that something had to be done for their ultimate political revival and strength.

In Britain and on the Continent he was provided with ample opportunity to study the major principles of European politics though he was handicapped, of course, by his imperfect knowledge of English or any other European languages. It appears from his later speeches and writings that the political trends which influenced him most were those of Laissez-faire and Nationalism -- the two dominant notes in the politics of mid-nineteenth-century Europe. According to the principle of Laissez-faire, Sir Syed understood that the state was regarded as the authority ultimately responsible for the security and well-being of all its subjects, but that Government activities normally were restricted to the bare minimum necessary to ensure the free play of individual creative effort.

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*Was it perhaps Sir Syed's arguments that led Kaye to give the title of "A History of the Indian Sepoy War" to his work?

1. quoted in Sir Syed's above-mentioned letter. Home Misc. p.1011.
2. Hali, Hayat, vol. 11, p.333.
3. Sir Syed's letter quoted by Hali, Hayat, vol. 11, p.334.

He read both Herbert Spencer (that thoroughgoing prophet of laissez-faire) and J.S. Mill as is evident from his frequent references to them in his speeches and writings, and accepted them as the prophets of most progressive principles of Government. Unfettered private enterprise in industry and trade, and the independence of universities and corporations quite enlivened him with hopes that "if in India sufficient individuals would pay attention they could do a lot in the spread of the sciences and of civilization".[1]

If Sir Syed had been encouraged in his reform policy by the principle of Laissez-faire, he was also inspired by the achievements of patriotism and nationality in Britain and on the Continent. The successive revolutionary movements throughout Europe inspired at once by liberal and by national ideals from 1815-1855, the nationalist victories especially in Germany from 1855 onward, and the untiring struggle of the Irish people to achieve independence won him out and out for nationalism and patriotism. "I lamented", he wrote home, "the degeneracy of my own race, who are, as a rule, steeped in envy and all uncharitableness, and saw only too plainly that by such bad habits they are dishonoured and unfortunate".[2] He realized that unless and until his countrymen were inspired by the sacred gospel of patriotism their unity and their political progress on modern lines would be but a sham. He, therefore, determined to adopt nationalism as his political creed.

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1. Sir Syed, Khutut, letter dated Sept. 10th, 1869, p.41, 2nd ed.
2. Sir Syed's letter to the Secretary of the Scientific Society, quoted by Graham, Life, p.103, 2nd ed.

Sir Syed had always felt the importance of education for society, as is apparent from his educational activities before his visit to England. It was in England that the belief gripped his mind that education on western lines would be the only means of a social reconstruction of the Muslim community in India. For this reconstruction he planned to use two instruments: an organ to preach and a college to teach.[1] From the two great English universities Cambridge and Oxford he developed the scheme of his M.A.O. College of which we will speak afterwards.[2] From the Spectator and Tatler of Addison and Steele the idea came to his mind of establishing an Urdu magazine in India for the reformation of Muslim Society. This was the same famous Tahzib ul-Akhlaq (Muhammadan Social Reformer) which was to exert so much influence on the literary and social aspects of Muslim life in India. Before he left England he had completed all the preliminary arrangements for its publication.

With a social outlook enlightened by his personal knowledge of Western civilization, and his philanthropic feelings intensified by the sense of the social decadence of his co-religionists, he returned to India towards the end of 1870.

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1. Sir Syed, Muk. Maj., speech dated Dec. 29th, 1873, p.124.
2. Sir Syed, Khutut, letter to Muhsin ul-Mulk dated May 27th, 1870, p.98.

Chapter IV

The Working out of Sir Syed's Ideas in India. 1870 – 1878 (1)

Political Aspect.

During the period he spent in England those new lines of Sir Syed's educational thought were finally drawn up which he was to follow regarding the Muslims' education in India. That new policy emerged out of his recent English experiences, from his religious outlook pervaded with rationalism, and from his political views about the decline of Muslim power and Hindu-Muslim relations in India. It was the sum-total of the three influences, and found explicit expression, after his return to India, in the educational programme he chalked out for the Muslims. The influence exerted by this educational programme on the development of Indian Muslim life can not be fully appreciated if its political and social aspect is overlooked. It cannot be expressed exclusively in terms of a policy devoted solely to the spread of education among the Muslims, and totally devoid of political and social ends. The political ideas of Sir Syed, expressed in the years, 1870-8, need therefore to be discussed.

It has sometimes been suggested of Sir Syed that after the language controversy in 1867 he expressed no political ideas. "He practically left the political field and began in right earnest to think of the educational progress of his own co-religionists, even to the extent of advising them not to take part in politics altogether".[1] Baljon likewise declares that "After his journey to England (1869-70)

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1. Sherwani, Studies in Muslim political Thought and Administration, pp. 227-8.

and his writing a Review of Dr. Hunter's Indian Musalmans, Ahmad Khan practically left the political field; the base was laid, and from then onwards he could devote his attention to his actual task, viz. the social, educational and religious reforms of his community".[1] But there is evidence to show, as will be seen later in some detail, that he did not segregate himself from Indian politics; that he had definite political views which he did not hesitate to put into practice whenever it was demanded by the political situation, and that he developed towards the last period of his life a political policy of his own in opposition to the ever growing movement of the All India National Congress. Nor was his educational institution, i.e. the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, without a political purpose. As will be seen later, politically, the object of the College was "to make the Mussulmans of India worthy and useful subjects of the British Crown".[2] Therefore it can be argued that the policy he followed after 1870 was both educational and political, and that his College "educational in function, but political in scope and effect",[3] was destined to play a particular role in Muslim politics and to achieve for the Muslims the ends of a political policy. And if he acted mainly in the educational field, his intentions, in doing so, were to further his political policy. It seems proper, therefore, to begin the study of his social and educational work, which will form the subject of the next three chapters, by considering the political ideas behind it.

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1. Baljon, The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, p.21.
2. Addresses and Speeches, address to Lord Lytton, Jan 8th, 1877, p.32.
3. Lajpat Rai, The Problem of National Education in India, p.16

Sir Syed, just before he left England, had been busy in refuting the hostile criticism contained in Sir William Muir's Life of Mahomet. On his return he plunged at once into another refutation, this time of certain aspects of a book which was not intended to be hostile, Sir William Wilson Hunter's Our Indian Musalmans.[1] In the earlier case he had been working to make Islam respectable in English eyes, in the second to make Indian Muslims so.

Hunter had written the book, in response to Mayo's[2] expressed desire to help the Muslims, to plead the cause of the Indian Muslims by showing their depressed condition and its effect upon their loyalty. He had excluded the Wahabis, however, from any sympathetic consideration, for he saw in them, particularly, "a chronic danger to the British power in India".[3]

His basic argument, as can be seen from the title "Our Indian Musalmans, Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen?", was about Muslim loyalty and the means of assuring it. Some Muslims, he noted, were "anxiously seeking to get rid of the duty to rebel by ingenious interpretations of their sacred Law".[4] Others would be loyal if life were made more tolerable for them, but still others he saw as "eagerly drinking in the poisoned teaching of the Apostles of Insurrection".[5] Such Wahabis were a source of chronic danger to British power in India.

The work arrived in India at an unfortunate moment, just after the Wahabi trials at Ambala. As the Pioneer pointed out "It was

1. Republished in 1871 under the title "The Indian Musalmans".
2. Al Biruni, Makers of Pakistan and Modern Muslim India, p.3.
3. Hunter, The Indian Musalmans, p.11.
4. Ibid. p.11.
5. Ibid. p.11.

itself intended for a time of apathy and it fell upon one of excitement. It makes a powerful appeal to certain feelings, and it finds us animated by the very contraries of those feelings. It appeals to our justice and compassion at a moment when we feel ourselves wronged, and it talks to us of danger at a time when we are full of anger and defiance..... of anything, in short, but fear".[1]

The assassination of J.P. Norman, Chief Justice of the Calcutta Court on the 21st September 1871 by a Punjabi Muslim gave an even sharper point to the discussion of Muslim loyalty. The Spectator dilated upon the danger --- and upon Muslim efforts to obtain from the 'Ulama of the Hejaz a fatwa proclaiming British India to be Dar ul Islam, a country in which Muslims could live peacefully. We have seen, the Spectator said, "that our dominion in India hangs even now, to-day, by a hair; that at any moment in any year a Musulman Cromwell may take the field and the Empire would be temporarily overwhelmed in universal massacre; and that in 1870, only a year ago, the existence of our rule depended mainly upon the answer which three Arabs in Mecca, as unknown in Europe as if they were negroes in Timbuctoo, might give to a question on the most difficult point of the Mahommedan moral code".[2]

There was even suspicion of those Muslims who had proclaimed their loyalty. A letter to the Pioneer asked "Had the decision of the Moulvis consulted been otherwise, would the Syed, as a Government officer, have published it, and what security have we to show that the Moulvis really were of the opinion stated in their fatwa?".[3]

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1. The Pioneer, October 6th 1871.
2. The Spectator, quoted by the Pioneer, Oct. 6,1871.
3. The Pioneer, Oct. 11th, 1871, p.4, by "No Alarmist"

Muslims began to feel that, however sincere their efforts, they would never be able to win the confidence of the Government because of suspicion of the Wahabis.

Sir Syed for this reason felt it necessary to deal at length with the assumptions about the Wahabis contained in Hunter's book. With thirteen years' effort to establish the Muslims' loyalty apparently threatened, he dropped his other work to produce a full refutation of Hunter's charge. He wrote a detailed review of Dr. Hunter's book and published it in several instalments in the Aligarh Institute Gazette and its English translation in the Pioneer. Later these articles were collected and published in book form along with their Urdu originals.

In the commencement of his review Sir Syed wrote:"Friend to the Mahomedans as Dr. Hunter no doubt is, his friendship, as represented by this his work, has worked us great harm. "God save me from my friends" was the exclamation which rose to my lips as I perused the author's pages".[1] He ended by expressing his dismay that a work should have been published which must be discouraging to Muslims. Muslims were anxious to know what was said about them --- and what they heard said in English they took to be a verdict of Government itself.

The main points of Sir Syed were made thus: "As Dr. Hunter's work represents Wahabism and rebellion against the British Government as synonymous, I will first proceed to review the light in which the former is presented .... and I will then pass on to the consideration of the latter question".[2] First he showed the blunders that Dr. Hunter

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1. Syed Ahmed Bahadoor, On Dr. Hunter's Our Indian Musalmans, compiled by "A Mahomedan", p.4.
2. ibid. pp. 6-7.

had made in his exposition of the principles of Wahabism and explained them fully. He also gave a history of the movement and admitted that he himself was a Wahabi.[1] Then he discussed the vexed question of whether Muslims could live peacefully in India and whether India was a Dar ul-Harb (House of War) or Dar ul-Islam (House of Peace).

Disagreeing with the two theories then prevalent that India was either a Dar ul-Harb, as stated by Dr. Hunter, or Dar ul-Islam, as stated by Maulvi Karamat Ali of Jaunpur, he presented a new theory. He stated "It is a great mistake to suppose that a country can only be a Dar ul-Islam or a Dar ul-Harb in the primary signification of the words, and that there is no intermediate position. A true Dar ul-Islam is a country which, under no circumstances, can be termed a Dar ul-Harb and vice versa. There are, however, certain countries which, with reference to certain circumstances can be termed Dar ul Islam, and with reference to others, Dar ul-Harb. Such a country is India at the present moment".[2] In similar fashion he quoted from his Khutbat passages discussing Jihad and concluded: "From this it is proved that as long as Mussalmans can preach the unity of God in perfect peace, no Mussalman can, according to his religion, wage war against the rulers of that country, of whatever creed they be".[3] He also supported his opinion by a tradition appearing in both Bukhari and Muslim (two very famous works on the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad). "When our Prophet Muhammad marched against any infidel people to wage holy war upon them, he stopped the commencement of hostilities till evening, in order to find out whether the

1. ibid. p.27.
2. ibid. pp. 76-77.
3. ibid. p.86.

Azan (call for prayer) was being called in the adjacent Country. If so he never fought with its inhabitants". His motive for this was that, from hearing the Azan, he (the Prophet) could at once find out whether the Moslems of the place could discharge their religious duties and ceremonies openly and without molestation.[1] He summed up his decision about the future attitude of Muslims in India: "In no case would it be the religious duty of any Mahomedan to renounce the Aman /peace granted/ of the English, and render help to the invader. Should they do so, they would be regarded as sinners against their faith, as they would then break that holy convenant which binds subjects to their rulers, and which is the duty of the former to keep sacred to the last".[2]

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1. ibid. p. 86.

2. ibid. p. 87. Sir Hassan Suhrawardy asserts that Maulana 'Ubaid Ullah al 'Ubaidi head of a Madrassa in Dacca issued, at Sir Syed's instance, "a Fatwa (a formal pronouncement from an appropriate theological authority on interpretation of Canon Law) attested by the seal and signatures of the leading 'Ulema of India, that as the Muslims of India were free to perform their religious obligations and observances without let or hindrance by the British Government, it was a Dar ul-Aman a country at peace, and not a Dar ul-Harb in which Islam was in danger, and in which, in selfdefence, a religious war (Jihad) was permissible". Sir Hassan Suhrawardy, "India", in Islam Today ed. A.J. Arberry and Rom Landau. p. 204.

The effect of Sir Syed's long articles was excellent -- and it extended to London where Hafiz Ahmad Hasan, an advocate of Tonk, published Sir Syed's review in the form of a pamphlet and distributed it free throughout that city. Hali states that after reading this pamphlet, the British public was greatly calmed. "It acted as water does upon a burning fire"[1]. The Indian authorities were certainly pleased, and Sir Syed 's review was followed by a very learned article in the Pioneer, dated 23rd November 1871, which was generally understood to have been written by Sir W. Muir, Lieutenant Governor of the N.W. Provinces. In this article all the doubts raised by Dr. Hunter were again removed one by one and the real position of the Muslims explained. The article concluded:

"A Wahabi is simply a pure worshipper -- a puritan of Islam, a follower of the uncontaminated faith of the Prophet. To represent him as uniformly a secret conspirator against constituted authority -- a worker in darkness, a preacher of sedition --- is a libel. We could point to many men in the service of Government, than whom Government possesses no more faithful or trusted servants, who openly and fearlessly and honorably avow that they are Wahabis, and glory in the name. Nay, more: these men are not only now the trusted servants of the State, but many of them were tried in the hottest fire of the Mutiny, and remained faithful. Had they been preachers of Jihad -- had rebellion been of the essence of Wahabi-ism --- this could never

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1. Hali, Hayat, vol. 1, p.184.

have been. And we commend their conduct to Mr. Hunter's notice, as a complete reply, on the part of the Wahabis themselves, to the "crucial question" suggested by him in the note to page 142 of his book.[1] The reference to Sir Syed could scarcely have been more explicit.[2]

No Bengali was hereafter arrested on the sole charge of being a Wahabi.[3]

Sir Syed's reply to Hunter's book was only a furtherance of his political policy of fostering the confidence of the English in the Muslims -- a policy which he had been strictly pursuing since the Mutiny and which he had re-affirmed, as has been pointed out in Chapter III, during his stay in England. But now he had a further reason for re-emphasizing Muslim loyalty to the British Government in India.[4] He was aware, as he confessed later in criticizing Lord Northbrook's speech of 1878, that there still existed a dissatisfied

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1. The Pioneer, 23rd Nov. 1871.
2. Hali illustrates the practical success of Sir Syed's article with the following story. One Munshi Qadir Bakhsh, revenue collector of Junian in the Punjab, was charged with Wahabism by the District Superintendent, who sent him to the Commissioner (presumably for punishment). But when Colonel Davis, the Commissioner, came to know that Qadir Bakhsh professed the same religion as Syed Ahmed, he recommended not demotion but the transfer of Qadir Bakhsh to Qasur, another district in the Punjab. Mr. O'Brien, Asst. Commissioner, gave him a certificate against the charge of sedition. He stated that the major proof of the said person's innocence was that he professed the religion of Syed Ahmad Khan, subordinate judge of the N.W.P., and that therefore it was absurd to suspect him of sedition. Hali, Hayat, vol. 2, pp. 55-6.
3. Hali, Maqalat, part 1, p.218.
4. Sir Syed, "Hindustan and Lord Northbrook", A.I.G., August 31, 1878.

element among the Muslims. His second object was to hold back the younger generation of Muslims from falling under the influence of that section and to teach them the political creed of loyalty to the British. This was a main theme of several speeches he delivered in 1873 and 1874 and of a series of articles he contributed to the Aligarh Institute Gazette from 1873 onwards. In preaching the creed of loyalty he went so far as to seek to make the Muslims believe that they owed survival after the Mutiny mainly to British rule and to British justice. It had been possible for the British Government to root the Muslims out of India as they had been rooted out from Spain.[1] It had done nothing of the sort.[2] The sense of generosity and justice with which the British had ruled India was sufficient reason for its subjects to be loyal. But the Government had further claims on its subjects' loyalty and faithfulness. Despite the fact that the British professed Christianity, their Government had allowed full religious liberty to the followers of all religions. To the Muslims it had been specially kind. It had ordered the creation of special facilities for the education of the Muslims. It had established peace and order, which for a long time had been unknown to India. It had provided opportunities for progress and prosperity. In his speech delivered in the Punjab on the 29th December 1873 he thus pointed out the blessings of British rule: "We must thank God that owing to the British Government in India there is so much peace and order in the country and so much freedom among its

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1. Hali, Maqalat i Hali, part 2. (Speech about the proposed Muhammadan University, dated 1899), p.48.
2. Once he wrote in the A.I.G. "The British Government has full authority to treat the Indians as it pleases. It can confiscate their property, it can even destroy them fully if it thinks it to be proper

subjects that no parallel to it can be found anywhere in the world. I assert with the firmest belief, that there can be no better principles of government than those on which the British Government is based. The rights of the subjects, their wealth, their liberty are not so safe anywhere in the world as they are under the British Government. You are well aware of the condition of those Muslim dominions which are neighbours of the Punjab. The conditions in Russia and Russian absolutism are well known in the world, and have been still further revealed by the events in Bukhara .... Conditions in the Persian dominions also are not unknown to you. Germany, France, Italy and the petty states of Europe are not so peaceful and do not allow so much liberty to their subjects. Turkey, Egypt and Tunisia have started to imitate the French Government to a certain extent, but they have not yet attained even the degree of peace and order and the liberty among subjects which existed under the French government, one which was itself most despotic and tyrannical. Then how are they to be compared with the British Rule? People describe the American government as a good one, but in my opinion its principles are no better than those of the British Government .... There could be nothing more unfortunate on our part than for us to fail to make national progress under such a government."[1]

Sir Syed did not only draw the attention of the Muslims to the peace and order given to India by British rule. He also pointed out the fundamental changes brought about by it in the material condition

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1. Sir Syed, Speech dated 29th Dec., 1873, Muk. Maj., p.117.

of her people. He drew their attention to the many material forces set to work in India by the imperial interests of the British Raj, which could be easily used in the interest of the whole people. The introduction of new industries, the growing capacity to export and import, the investment of capital, the development of the resources of the country all had opened new vistas of progress. "This time of ours, compared with the past, is a time of progress; and the resources which our nation has at present had never been available before. If our nation would pay a little hearty attention, it could become equal to other contemporary nations. Apart from the opinions expressed by national reformers, we ourselves are witnessing with our own eyes that education has spread far and wide in India....as, perhaps, had never happened before... In all the villages government schools have been established.... The thoughts of Indians are generally no longer pessimistic. They have rather begun to feel now that illiteracy is extremely harmful to them and education extremely beneficial to their children. As for the wealth of the country, though seemingly India has become impoverished, and apparently many channels have come into existence by which wealth is drained away,[1] yet she can not be considered to have become impoverished in view of the fact that many other sources for acquiring wealth have come into existence. Again we can say that it has now become like other wealthy nations, since the real index of progress in every country is the approximate, if not the complete, equality of its people in the matters of luxury, comfort and wealth. From this point of view India is going to attain such a position, in

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1. It is interesting to see Sir Syed enunciating the doctrine of 'the Drain' in 1875.

the near future, as will make her people approximately equal to each other.

"In India there is much talk about trade and commerce. And though Indians have not so far crossed beyond the borders of their country, yet they have started to entertain business affairs with London, China, France, Germany and Asia, staying in India all the time. Besides commerce, they are feeling their condition to be greatly improved in respect of the acquisition of arts and crafts. They have acquired many useful arts and there are but few persons left unskilled... The same is the condition of wisdom and consciousness ... The Indian people, compared to their former condition, are wiser and more conscious .... so much so that they weigh every action in the balance of principles before it is put into practice. Even agriculture, trade, public work, irrigation have not been left without rules and regulations. Therefore this age should be considered the age of progress. The social usages and traditions in India have become similar to those of the most civilized nations. In short, India is progressing"[1].

In 1875 he took up the theme again in yet another article contrasting the blessed condition of British India with the oppression and misery under other governments. "Among the Muslim states Turkey comes first, then Persia, then Afghanistan and then the small states of Central Asia. The condition of these states is very well known to every body. The safety of the life and property of the subject is

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1. A.I.G., 6th August 1875.

is not certain for a moment. No one knows what the subjects are going to suffer the next moment either at the hands of the government, and its officers, or of dacoits and robbers. Among the civilized governments of Europe the tyranny of Russia sees no bounds ..... The detailed news of how the Russians have treated the Muslims of Bulgaria, we have published to day in our newspaper from reliable sources. Every body can read them. Some incidents occurred in India during the Mutiny, which Indians consider a great injustice, and we also do not like them. But Indians should guess from the events which have taken place in Bulgaria, what the Russians would have done, had they been treated in the way English people were treated during the Mutiny. The people of India have now wholly forgotten the time when Indians ruled the country and the calamities and hardships which the subject had to face under their rule. And they express their resentment against the Government for trivial matters which are due to their own ignorance, imprudence and incivility. The Government is not responsible for them. If judged rightly, there is no government in the world, other than the English, which maintains better administration, gives more liberty to its subjects and which interferes so little with their religious affairs".[1] He drew the obvious moral: "We should be the well-wishers of the Government and should never lag behind in loyalty and obedience, which are our duties as loyal subjects".[2]

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1. Sir Syed "The English Government", A.I.G., August 18th, 1877.
2. ---, Speech Dec. 29th, 1873, Muk. Maj, p.304.

Towards this time, Sir Sayed also toned down the policy of his paper, the Aligarh Institute Gazette, See Chapter 11, p.129

When Lord Northbrook in a speech in the House of Lords on 18th July 1878 expressed his doubts about the Muslims' loyalty, Sir Syed once again defended his co-religionists as the most loyal subjects. Northbrook had remarked: "My Lords, it is well to remember that no support which England can give to the Turkish Empire will conciliate the disloyal portion of the Indian Mahomedans to our rule[1] ..... Mahomedanism is a religion which chafes under foreign rule, especially the rule of a nation whose religion is not Mahomedan. A really religious Mahomedan can not be content with other than Mahomedan rule"[2] To this Sir Syed replied in an article (31st August 1878) that the Muslims in India felt themselves bound to be loyal to the British rule for they found it the most just and fair, and preferred it to any other rule in the world, Muslim or non-Muslim, Indian or foreign. "Indian Muslims", he asserted, "being more than a century under the British Government have become so used to a life of peace, liberty and prosperity that they will never wish to change it for any other government in the world"[3]. A desire for self-rule, Sir Syed admitted, was natural for the Indian Muslims, as for all respectable people. This desire could even be a final goal for their achievement. But the few native rulers enjoying independence in India had so mis-governed their people that the Muslims under British rule could never possibly desire to be governed by them. "What sort of a dust have they raised in their territories that we should wish for native rulers too. It is

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1. Speech of the Earl of Northbrook in the House of Lords on the 18th July 1878 on the Convention with Turkey, p.9.
2. ibid. p.14.
3. A.I.G., August 31st, 1878,

my opinion that no Muslim in India, not even the most disloyal, would wish from his heart that any Indian, prince, raja or chief, maulvi or beggar, should rule India".[1]

This idea of Muslim loyalty to the British Raj, of which Sir Syed was an advocate, was an effective factor in the early development of the concept of Muslim nationality in India. The principle of their loyalty (or disloyalty as some Englishmen held) prompted among the Muslims living in British India a sense of their existence as a separate political entity, with no political and economic interests in common with the Muslims outside India.

The novel idea of Muslim nationality within India was, in fact, Sir Syed's contribution to the political development of Muslim India. It was he who conceived the idea, and for this he might be rightly regarded as the father of Pakistan. His concept of Muslim nationality was truly the concept of what may be called "Indian Muslim nationality", for he excluded from it not only the Muslims living under foreign rule, but also the Hindus who were also the subjects of the British Government in India.

The stages by which Sir Syed arrived at that logically difficult position are clear. He had begun to view Muslims and Hindus in India as separate groups even before this Urdu-Hindi controversy; now his reflections on that split led him to believe that their requirements and interests were everywhere greatly different, even opposed.

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1. ibid. The values of these articles has been estimated by Colonel Graham in the following words: "These articles, which were continued for nine years, effected a wonderfully wholesome change in the Mohammedan ideas throughout India and brought them more in accord with their rulers; and his services in this direction are politically more valuable than his personal service during the Mutiny". Life, p.138. 2nd ed.

In Europe Sir Syed imbibed the current spirit of nationalism and he returned to India convinced of its power as a motive force. In Europe nationalism was based upon the unity of geographical boundary, of ruling authority or of language. In India Sir Syed could appeal only to unity of religion. "Whoever steps into the creed of Islam", he declared, "is a member of our nation".[1]

But he had then to proceed to set limits to the community of religion, for he was not prepared to extend it as a basis for nationality to followers of Islam outside India. To do so would introduce a conflict with that loyalty to British rule in India which he believed was essential to Muslim survival and progress. Muslims living in India under English rule formed a separate political entity and a distinct nationality from which Muslims living in foreign countries were excluded.

It is this attitude which enabled him so freely to criticise the political conduct of other Muslim states. As a loyal British subject he criticised the foreign policy or internal maladministration even of Turkey, the seat of the Caliphate, the focus of orthodox Muslim faith.[2] Moreover, this was the official policy of his Gazette. "It often spoke", wrote J. MacDonald in the Pillars of the Empire, as if they (Sir Syed and his followers) believed that an English conquest or occupation of all Mahomedan territory between the Punjab frontier and the Balkans would be the very best thing that

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1. Sir Syed, Muk. Maj., p.209.
2. Yet as a Muslim reformer he found much to praise in the acceptance of Western ideas in Turkish or Egyptian society.

could happen next to Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury the Mahomedan Progressists seem to be the most emphatic in their approva of the Asian Protectorate ,and the annexation of Cyprus. Many of them regret that the English Ministry did not proceed to even greater extremities,by insisting upon definite and detailed pledges for the just government of Asiatic Turkey,and even upon the nomination of English or Anglo-Indian officials who should superintend the execution of the promised reforms. They entertain,of course,a loyal respect for the head of their faith,but they assert,as unreservedly as any foreign critics,that the ruin of the Porte is simply the unavoidable end of official incompetence and corruption."[1]

Just once between 1870-1876 Sir Syed is found explicitly using the word Qaum(nation)in a way which contradicts what has just been said about his idea of nationality. Addressing a meeting of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,[2] Punjab,held on 28th

1. J.Macdonald,in the Pillars of the Empire,ed.Escott,pp.167-8.
2. The Society he was addressing was one of those established with the help of the British Government to diffuse useful knowledge and to promote Eastern languages and sciences which had sprung up everywhere in North India towards this time. This Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge had been started on January 21,1865 (two years after Sir Syed's Scientific Society)at Lahore Dr. W. Leitner was its President and Babu Navin Chandra its Secretary.* Towards the time when Sir Syed paid his visit,other important members were Nawab'Abdul Majid Khan,Muhammad Barkat 'Ali Khan Bahadur,Extra Assistant Commissioner,Gujranawala,Diwan Shankarnath Sayyid 'Alam Shah,Bhai Charinjith Singh,Bhai Mihan Singh, Diwan Shiva Ram Das,S.Qamar ud Din.**
   *Report for three years of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in the Punjab,
   **Proceedings of the Committee of the Society held 30th September, 1870,p.1.

December 1873, he said, "In my speech I have used the word nation several times. By this I do not mean Muslims exclusively. I think that all human beings form but one body. And I do not like religion, creed or group to be regarded as the basis of a nation. If my opinion is correct,the blackest and the whitest, those who have attained the highest form of civilization and those who are still living in intimate association with nature are my brothers and form one nation. I desire that all human beings irrespective of caste, creed and religion should unite for one another's well-being".[1] Obviously in this use of the word nation, the main emphasis on religion as the fundamental element of community is altogether absent. But it is difficult to interpret this as an attempt to negate Sir Syed's previous idea of nationality, and to replace it by a new concept of nation. What he is attempting here is not so much to define the concept of nation as to expound a wider concept of human fraternity which would not recognize distinctions of race, colour and creed.[2] In any case, Sir Syed, here addressing a mixed audience of Hindus and Muslims, in the role of educational reformer was scarcely likely to have emphasised religion as a basis for nationality.

The spirit of human fraternity in his speech was not out of character. If Sir Syed advocated the idea of Muslim nationality, he also urged that love and friendship should be extended to all human beings irrespective of their creed or colour. He distinguished sharply between the love based on the unity of faith which he called the

1. Muk. Maj. Speech Dec. 30th, 1873, p.137.
2. Sir Syed was speaking in Urdu, and the word Qaum قوم, translated here as "nation" was at that time rather vague in its connotation. In 1884 Platts gives the meaning of Qaum as "a people; nation,a tribe, race,family;sect,caste". A Dictionary of Urdu,Classical Hindi and English,

religious love (Hubb i Imani) and the love based on human feelings. Religious love for one not of the faith, he said, was strictly prohibited by the Shari'a (Islamic Law). Rather it was heresy. But love on the basis of human relationship and the feelings with which human nature is endowed and which are therefore right, were never prohibited, and to think them so was a gross mistake. "Whatever has been planted by God in human nature", he held,"is perfectly right and just. We have to maintain sincere friendliness and hearty love with all of our friends to whatever creed they may belong. But all this love and friendliness should be maintained, not on the religious level, but on the level of humanity, for the religious love is impossible without the unity of faith or rather the unity of ways of life. And I think that it is what has been taught us by our true religion".[1]

While expatiating on the importance of religion as the basis of nationality, Sir Syed also emphasized the part of language in nation-building. It has been seen how from the 1860s Sir Syed, aware of the value of Urdu as a language for the Muslims in India, had become its most zealous supporter. He felt its importance as a living feature making for unity among Muslims. When he started writing on reform after returning from Europe, he himself set an example in his own use of Urdu. (The effort of Sir Syed to enrich the Urdu language and its literature will be discussed in a later chapter, when the achievements of the Tahzib ul-Akhlaq will also be estimated). In 1873 when protest against the use of Urdu in Government Courts was vehemently

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1. Sir Syed, Mazamin i Tahzib ul-Akhlaq, vol. 2, p. 119 (between 1870-6). "Hubb i Imani aur Hubb i Insani" (love based on the unity of faith and love based on human feelings).

renewed by the Hindus, Sir Syed established the League for the Defence of Urdu. The advertisement written by him to rouse the Muslims to the protection of Urdu, announced: "The loss of the Urdu language for the Muslims would be tremendous. No other loss except the loss of their religion could be compared to it".[1]

To foster the sentiment of nationality among the Muslims, he also attempted to bring home to them their past history, for national sentiment always feeds on history, and their past was very glorious. The beginning of Muslim biography in Urdu in modern India may be traced back to the early efforts of Sir Syed during this period to produce historical literature through his Tahzib ul Akhlaq. His early attempt to create a taste for Muslim history did not produce any very remarkable results, but it did gradually develop into a movement of historiography, and a number of works on history were produced. In this early period he succeeded, however, in inducing his friends to write articles on certain aspects of Muslim history, of which some were both scholarly and comprehensive. At his request, Muhsin'ul Mulk delivered two lectures on the past civilization of the Muslims on 22nd October 1873 at the Mirzapur Institute. He painted the picture of the past Muslim civilization, which had reached its zenith in the eighth century, and comparing it with the present he showed the latter to be completely decadent. They could rejuvenate themselves, he suggested, by assimilating Western civilization.[2]

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1. Sir Syed, quoted by Muhsin ul Mulk, Majmu'a Lectures wa Speeches (collection of lectures and speeches) vol. 1, pp. 393-4.
2. Muhsin ul-Mulk, Majmu'a Lectures wa Speeches, pp. 6-39.

These lectures, published in the Tahzib ul-Akhlaq, were followed by a series of short biographies of famous Muslim scholars, historians, statesmen and philosophers. The aim was to arouse the interests of the educated Muslims in the achievements of their forefathers. Muhsin ul Mulk, for instance, wrote two articles, one on Ibn Khaldun and the other on al Ghazali. Speaking of the works of Ibn Khaldun, particularly of his well-known Prolegomena, he wrote: "This book is worth translating to Urdu to show to the Muslims that their nation had the unique privilege of having produced such talented men. So that the Muslims may think and take instruction by comparing the difference between us and our ancestors, and realise also that the sciences which they now consider as mere heresy had been composed by our research scholars several centuries ago".[1]

By such play upon past glories Sir Syed sought to rouse in Indian Muslims a sense of nationality. By stressing the decay of the present he sought to set that sense to work in a spirit of self-help.

Independence of spirit and united effort were essential if the Muslims were to rise again, for after the Mutiny they had fallen into destitution, a national destitution. This was not poverty in the material sense --- "there have always been poor classes", he said, "in all ages and among all nations".[2] It was the state of a nation whose members have been deprived of all sources of power, position and wealth. Such a general powerlessness was "the sign of the wrath of God".[3]

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1. Muhsin ul-Mulk, Mazamin Tahzib ul-Akhlaq, vol. 1, p.162.
2. Sir Syed, Mazamin, vol. 2, p.466.
3. ibid., p.462.

The goal of the Muslims must be a new state of national prestige. Such prestige required an all-round national progress. There must be educated men, versed in modern arts and technology, as well as wealthy men; there must be cultural intercourse with other nations; that was the basis of civilization; there must be new ideals and methods of social service. To give alms to the poor, to recite the Quran and the Bukhari for the salvation of the deceased and to construct mosques -- these were worthless services to a decadent community. "What is the use", he asked, "of constructing inns in Mecca when our people here do not have roofs over their heads?"[1]. He preferred to propose new means of serving the community: learning, without prejudice or superstition or regard for rotten social customs; acquiring modern languages, the keys to modern science; introducing modern industries and modern commercial methods; adopting reformed social customs and the polite manners of the West.

But he knew that the adoption of these means required an unusual amount of self-confidence and initiative on the part of the Muslims, who had grown accustomed to rely upon the governments for their social uplift. That was the result of being for centuries under the autocratic rule of kings. The people looked to the Government for every thing, yet in practice the government was neither accustomed to nor capable of fulfilling such a role. The course of events in India had created great apathy towards political change, an apathy which was "put to the charge of the fatalistic creed of Islam"[2]. Sir Syed

1. Sir Syed, Mazamin, vol. 2. "Hikayat Nadan Khudaparast aur Dana Dunyadar ki" (Story of a Foolish Priest and a Wise Layman) p.462.
2. Gibb, Whither Islam, p.34.

denied the charge and also sought to break the habit of reliance and to inspire the Muslims with ideals of confidence and self-help. A considerable portion of his article "Self-Help" printed in the Tahzib ul Akhlaq in 1871 was devoted to proving the out-datedness of the Muslims' belief that the presence of a national king was necessary for the progress of a nation. The belief that salvation lay in a paternal administration or in the formulation of good laws was both obsolete and incorrect. The true principle,he argued, was that proclaimed by W.D. Drennan[1] the Irish patriot,whose speech at an industrial exhibition in Dublin he quoted:

"When I hear the word liberty I am reminded of my country and my countrymen. We have long been hearing much about our Liberty, but I firmly believe in my heart that our liberty and our industry depend upon us. I believe that there is no better opportunity or hope for our future improvement than in continuing to work hard and to utilise our resources properly. Perseverance and hard work are great means to success. If we carry on our work with enthusiasm,patience and courage, then I am convinced that within a short time our position, like that of other progressive nations, will be one of comfort,happiness and freedom"[2].

Sir Syed asserted that under existing conditions governments had very little share in the progress or stagnation of a nation."All Asians have been thinking that only a good king can bring prosperity

1. William Drennan(1754-1820),an Irish poet and politician,who took a great part in the political movement of 1784 in Ireland.
2. Sir Syed, "Self-help",Mazamin,p.138.

and happiness to them. The European, more progressive than the Asian, thinks that only a good administration, official or private, brings happiness, progress and dignity to a nation. But all this is wrong"[1].

He argued that the glory and greatness of a country depended more upon the culture, habits and morals of its inhabitants than upon the goodness of its government. He held that in the new circumstances of foreign rule, the duties of a Government had become more negative in character than positive. Even the best government had only to protect the life, liberty and property of its subjects, and to provide them with opportunities for the free exertion of their own intellectual and physical powers. Any expectation on the part of Muslims that the government would push them towards prosperity and happiness was merely a proof of how ignorant they were of political trends and of the principle of national progress. "The source of true progress is the spirit of self-help. When this spirit saturates the heart of many persons it becomes the strong root of national progress and national strength"[2].

Sir Syed's diagnosis was that the bane of Muslims' political thinking was their mental slavishness. It was their wide-spread caprice, ignorance, selfishness and immorality, that had made them slaves in their hearts and lowered them in the eyes of others. "Unless and until you do away with this mental slavishness", he warned the

1. ibid. P. 138.
2. ibid. pp. 133-4.

Muslims, "you can never progress. Even such external factors as good government will fail to liberate you."[1]

Sir Syed held that it was uncivilized nature of the Indian Muslims which induced the British Government to adopt uncivil methods to rule them. He argued that the attitude of a government was only a reflection of the habits and ideas of its subjects, and concluded that if Muslims would try to educate and civilise themselves the British Government would necessarily change its attitude.

The only way to remove this mental slavery and to make progress, in the true sense of the word, was to undergo what Sir Syed called "Life Education". Life education was different from book education and studying for University degrees. It could only be learned in the company of persons of character and fine ideals - of men such as the English. "Every-day experience shows that only personal character possesses the power to influence the character, life and behaviour of others. In fact this is the only laudable, practical education.... This kind of education makes the recipient a real man in the true sense of the word. This education forms behaviour, promotes self-education, meekness, personal goodness, national consolidation and national respect. It teaches a man to be dutiful, to protect others' rights and to be practical".[2]

Holding such ideas as these, Sir Syed felt that the presence of the English in India was positively desirable and that it would be[3]

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1. ibid.
2. ibid. "self-help" pp. 139-140.
   Sir Syed hoped that in his school the young Muslims in the company and under the guidance of noble Englishmen, would receive just such a "life" education" and would so lay the foundation for real political progress of the Muslims.
3. Hali writes that Sir Syed used to say that he would never have preached for British loyalty had he not been convinced that it was necessary for the political solidarity of the Muslims.

practically impossible to achieve any substantial result in their absence. The two requisites for the cultivation of learning -- peace and liberty -- were guaranteed by the presence of the English Government only. And if for the maintenance of an unbroken peace the presence of the British was necessary, so it was for the assimilation of all that was good and beneficial in the civilization of the West. He quoted Sayyid Khairud Din[1], Prime Minister of the Tunis State, approvingly: "Muslims on account of their barrenness of mind, on account of their degeneration, should assimilate from European political methods, those cultural and administrative elements which would bring wholesome results and lead to prosperity and progress"[2].

In a speech in the Punjab, Sir Syed set out these ideas about borrowing methods from the West and defended the introduction of Western notions. Muslims could quite properly make such borrowings and attempt such transformations. In the Quran it was laid down, "God never alters the condition of people, unless they alter it themselves". But even in the absence of such commands, Sir Syed argued, there were good precedents for adopting principles proclaimed by Europeans. Thus there were many Ulema and even Muhadis (scholars of the Sayings of the Prophet), responsible persons alive at that moment, who had not only approved of Muslims learning things of secular value from the followers of other religions, but had positively urged that course upon them. Such, for example, were Ali Shaikh ul-Miraqi ul-Maliki and

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1. (Aqwam ul-Masalik. A geographical, political and statistical account of the countries of Europe, to which is appended a short account of the rest of the world, and a comparative table of the Christian and Muhammudan eras. Arabic text.) Tunis, 1284-5 A.H., 1868 A.D.
2. Speech, Muk. Maj., dated Dec. 29th, 1873.

Shaikh Muhammad bin'Abid ibn ul Hanafi, and he also quoted many passages from the Aqwam ul Masalik by Sayyid Khair ud Din, the Prime Minister of Tunis.

In the same year as Sir Syed was proclaiming the need to do away with old ideas,and for Muslims actively to seek out for themselves new ones,he was setting out in his magazine what political ideas he had learned for himself in England. Thus he discussed the theories of Herbert Spencer, the concept of responsible government,the value of liberty of opinion.

Such change and self-renewal of the Muslim nation in India was his ultimate political and social and educational aim.

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Social Aspect.

Sir Syed reached home on October 2nd,1870,his heart full of ideas and ambitions programme of progressive reform on his hands.But the first tidings he received in India was that the orthodox Muslims of North India,being informed of his arrival,had circulated letters and published articles prohibiting Muslims from taking food or mixing with him on peril of excommunication.[1] They had denounced him as a Christian because he had eaten chicken not killed in the Islamic way. This brought home dramatically to Sir Syed the general narrow-mindness of his fellow-countrymen and all but made him abandon hope of being ever successful in reforming them. Nevertheless he was determined to embark on his work.

Single-handed his efforts might not have succeeded.But he was helped by some of his more enlightened friends,especially by Muhsin ul Mulk."Not to mention his (Muhsin ul Mulk's)efforts",states Hali, "would be to leave out one important secret of Sir Syed's success."[2]

Born in Etawah on December 9th,1837,of the well-known family of the Sadat i Barha[3],Sayyid Mahdi 'Ali,afterwards Muhsin ul Mulk,was educated in the old Eastern way.He started his life as a clerk in government service at Etawah but progressed steadily. Endowed with the faculty of self-criticism of his religious ideas,he gave up his hereditary Shia beliefs and became a very strict Sunni.When Sir Syed published his Tab'in ul Kalam in 1862,Muhsin ul Mulk got so furious that in spite

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1. Hali,Hayat,vol.2,p.276.
2. ibid,p.319.
3. "King-makers" at Delhi in the early eighteenth century.

of not being acquainted with Sir Syed, in any formal way he wrote a long letter to the author bitterly criticising his religious innovations and branding him a Kāfir (infidel).[1] But when he made the acquaintance of Sir Syed, an acquaintanceship which developed into a life-long companionship, he was thoroughly converted to Sir Syed's ideology, and remained to his last breath an enthusiastic promulgator of the cause of his admired friend. In 1867 Muhsin ul-Mulk competed for the Local Civil Service of N.W.P. and topped the list of successful candidates. He was appointed as Deputy-Collector at Mirzapur, where he was officiating when Sir Syed reached home. Already some years before, just towards the departure of Sir Syed to England, Muhsin ul-Mulk, giving up his religious prejudices, had dined for the first time in his life with a Christian in the company of Sir Syed, and had been punished by the community by means of a regular boycott from his relatives at Etawah.[2] He remained a source of help, literary as well as financial, to Sir Syed when he was in England, busy with the preliminary arrangements of the future programme. When Sir Syed returned to India and took up his official duties in Benares again, and prepared for the publication of the magazine Tahzīb ul Akhlāq, the blue-prints of which he had already prepared in England), Muhsin ul-Mulk came forward to co-operate with him with equal zeal. He persuaded his own friends to join and help Sir Syed, and himself became the most energetic of the twenty members of the Committee formed to consult upon the preliminary arrangements for the journal. He was the first to join Sir Syed in writing for the Magazine, and wrote many lengthy and learned articles attacking remorselessly and boldly the old

1. Muhsin ul-Mulk, Speeches wa Lectures, part 1, speech dated January 1st, 1904, p.508.
2. Hali, Hayat, vol. 2, p.271.

values of the decaying society,and thus supported Sir Syed's writings. In spite of his delicate health he devoted such a considerable time to the writing of these articles that his official duties were neglected, and his superior officer had to ask Sir Syed to remind Muhsin ul Mulk to be more alert in discharging his duties.[1]

When the first few numbers of the Magazine stirred the orthodox classes deeply and a storm of opposition was raised,it was again Muhsin ul Mulk who stood beside Sir Syed and shared the attacks.He was also denounced like Sir Syed as a heretic,Anti-Christ,Christian and unbeliever. But this time it was Muhsin ul Mulk alone who,by the sweetness and logic of his writings,tried to remove many apprehensions of the people against the new movement and thus lessen the opposition.

It was thanks to this whole-hearted co-operation that Sir Syed was soon able to complete the preliminary arrangements for the Journal.The most important matter he and the Committee had to decide was that of finance.For that they decided that each member of the Committee should make a contribution of Rs.60 per annum,[2] the general subscription to the Journal being fixed at the rate of Rs.4 a year.The magazine was to be published monthly and in a limited number.The monthly expenses were estimated to be Rs.100.(The printing was done on the Society's press, which Sir Syed had bought for the publication of the Tab'in ul Kalam, and had given to it.It was also decided that the journal should be sent free where necessary.

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1. Hali,Hayat,vol.2,p.320.
2. Sir Syed's salary as Judge was Rs.600 a month and he also had a political pension of Rs.200 per mohth.
3. The Report on the Administration,N.W.P.& Oudh,gives the circulation in 1881 as 94.See the Report ,1881-2,p.424.

The speciality of the magazine was that it was entirely devoted to Muslim reform and published only such articles and correspondence as sug-gested one or other measure of reform. Sir Syed himself became its editor, and side by side with the editing of it, which he continued throughout its life, he became its chief and most regular contributor. On December 24th, 1870, the first number saw the light of day, and it continued to appear regularly up to 1876, when its publication was suspended for the first time. The reason then was that in 1876 (having retired from his post) Sir Syed had moved to Aligarh, where he devoted himself to the establishment of the proposed M.A.O. College. His friends were also busy in collecting contributions and in making other preliminary arrangements for the Col-lege and so had little time to devote to the magazine. Moreover, it had fulfilled to a great extent the purpose for which it had been started.[1] In 1879 at the instance of Sir Syed's friends the publication of the magazine was resumed. This time it appeared for two years and five months.[2] In 1894 it was started for the third time and finally ceased publica-tion in 1897, a year before the death of Sir Syed.

Speaking about the subscribers to the Tahzib ul Akhlaq Hali has stated that they were mostly from those middle-class people who were "neither wholly ignorant, nor yet well versed in all sciences, neither very poor nor very well off".[3]

In its first issue the aims and objects of the journal were set out in

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1. Hali, Hayat, vol. 1, p. 171.
2. The magazine was not re-issued twice in the nineties as has been stated by Baljon, op.cit. p. 27.
3. Hali, Hayat, vol. 1, p. 170.

detail -- aims which very closely reflected what Sir Syed had been thinking and saying during his stay in England. The introductory manifesto reads:

"The aim in publishing this magazine is to persuade the Muslims of India to adopt a perfect kind of civilization so as to remove the contempt with which they are looked upon by the civilized nations, and so that they also may be regarded as one of the respected and civilized peoples of the world. It is true that the religion of a nation participates in making it civilized. There are certain religions which are regarded as a hindrance to civilization. We have to see whether the religion of Islam is one of these.

"There are different opinions about it. One prejudiced Christian historian after his travels in Turkey has written that the Turks will never make any progress unless they abandon Islam, as Islam is incompatible with progressive civilization.

"Is it not disgraceful that we should hear such contemptuous remarks about us and our bright and true religion and not show that refinement and progress can in fact be achieved?

"The truth is that we have blended with our Islamic practices many old stories of the Jews and many ideas and doctrines of the Roman Catholics (an old Christian sect which existed for a long time in Arabia too), and numerous rites and customs of the Hindus and other non-Muslim communities so that the true character of Islam is lost, and consequently other people have a very low opinion about Islam .... Refinement in religion can be acquired

only if we think over our situation very vigilantly, with sincerity and care, and see whence have come those customs and habits which are a hindrance to civilization, and how they have been introduced and assimilated amongst us, and if we then give up those of them which are defective, bad, and a hindrance to civilization, and if we reform those which are reformable and keep comparing them with our religious principles to see whether omission or reform is in conformity with the injunctions of the Shar'ia (Religious Law). In this way we and our religion may escape the contempt of other nations"[1].

Thus the programme of Sir Syed, in the field of social reforms, was two-fold. One was to refute the allegations of European writers that Islam as a religion was inconsistent with civilization. (This also involved an attempt to prove Islam to be quite in conformity with the basic principles of modern sciences). The other was to do away with those social habits and customs which, he thought, were held by the Europeans to be uncivilized but which were regarded by the Muslims as based on religion. This compelled him to re-interpret the principles of a verbally inspired scripture interwoven with traditional interpretations.

The civilization which had developed in India under the Mughal Empire had become inconsistent with the social needs of the new age, that of the industrial civilization of the West introduced by the political power of British rule. The old cultural system of feudal India could survive no longer, and was dying fast. The Indian Muslims, who looked at religion as the only basis of civilization, were overwhelmed by the sudden change in

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1. Sir Syed, "Tamhid" (Introduction), Mazamin, pp.1-3.

their existing order and, finding it difficult to adapt themselves to this change, clung all the more to the old religious rules of social life. Naturally the Western nations, who, after the Renaissance, had taken long strides on the way of progress and had formulated humanitarian ideas consistent with the industrial economic system, looked down upon them. After a tremendous fight they had succeeded in separating the State from the Church and had cultivated liberal and rational views on every aspect of life. To them Islam looked like a religion of the middle ages, incompatible with modern progress, holding the Muslims in a stagnant condition. In Islam, moreover, the Western writers found certain precepts which seemed to be contrary to the humanitarian point of view. They were, therefore, particularly hostile to such institutions of Muslim countries as slavery, polygamy, divorce and Jihad (Holy war).

For a devout Muslim, as Sir Syed was, this state of things was unbearable. He therefore determined to combat through his magazine the notion that Muslims were responsible as Muslims for such institutions, and the belief of Western writers that the Muslims' decadence was attributable to the laws and tenets of Islam. Sir Syed, as has been concluded by Dr. Percival Spear, "launched a Muslim modernism which sought to reconcile traditional Islam with modern needs."[1]

He made a point of taking one by one the sources of religious beliefs of Islam and of examining their reliability. He believed that the real sources of Islam at least were quite capable of rational explanation in

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1. Spear, India, Pakistan, and the West, p.190.

their original forms. It was their subsequent distortion and gross misuse that made them appear in the eyes of Western critics out of date and at times even irrational.

In the very first issue, for instance, he chose to examine commentaries upon the Quran, a popular source of Muslim philisophy, history and astronomy. He rejected all of these as reliable sources of Muslim science and religious beliefs, on the ground that they were full of the fabulous stories and beliefs current when the commentaries were written. The commentators, although eminent scholars of their times, provided interpretations which were true only in their own times but which with the passage of time and changed circumstances had become out of date and in some instances even ridiculous.[1]

He believed that the only reliable and authentic source of Islam was the Quran itself, and he attempted to set out what he thought were the true principles for interpreting its teachings. In the first issue of the Tahzib ul-Akhlaq for 1871 Sir Syed wrote: "The facts relating to the human soul, the secrets which are open to it, the effects of good and bad deeds upon it and the condition into which the soul falls after the death of a human being (and which is called the resurrection) could not be understood by human beings without allegorization .... For instance if it is stated (in the Quran) about the punishment of sinners in the grave, that serpents will wrap around them and will devour them, it is not meant that such serpents as we see crawling about in this world will really cling to the corpse;

1. Tahzib ul Akhlāq, vol. 2, No. 1, 1871

rather the condition of a sinner's soul is described by the allegory of the agony, terror and despair which a human being suffers from a snake bite. Common people and ignorant Muslim Mullahs interpret such verses literally to mean real snakes, and learned people understand it allegorically.[1]

Then he dwelt upon the expediency of the action of the learned people in olden days in not disclosing to the common ignorant people the "secrets of faith" except when couched in the allegorical language of the Quran. But as the sources of knowledge had increased in modern time, he argued that it would be quite safe now to let the people know that those Quranic descriptions were allegorical and not to be understood literally. "It is not only necessary", he wrote, "that people should be informed of the allegorical representations in religion, but the time has now come when the true secrets of the religion should be proclaimed openly so that the people may be acquainted with the truth of the problems and the secrets of religion and thus be completely convinced of the true nature of our religion. One should not be afraid of the charge of heresy (Fatwa -i Kufr) levelled by fanatical Muslim divines at those who understand allegorically such things as punishment in the grave, the ascension of the Prophet to the Heavens, the separate existence of the Devil etc.[2]

In the next issue Sir Syed discussed the Hadith, the second most important source of Islamic precepts. He criticised the general tendency among Muslims to accept any thing which was claimed to be based on the tradition of the Prophet without going into the question of examining the authenticity and reliability of such a tradition. Consequently, many customs and ideas /

1. Sir Syed, "Tabaqat i 'Ulum i Din", (The Categories of the Religious Sciences), Tahzib ul Akhlaq, vol.2, No.1, 1872, p.10.
2. ibid, p.10.

based on traditions of doubtful validity found their way among the Muslims and so gradually became a great hindrance to their progress and civilization.

Among the Muslims it was widely believed that all the necessary research in the science of the Traditions had been perfectly carried out by the great traditionalists of Islam, and that there was no further scope for research in that science. The Six most Authentic Books (Sahah Sitta) were regarded by the orthodox Muslims as the only acceptable collections of Traditions. Sir Syed, therefore, pointed out that even in those six authentic collections there was a possibility of finding spurious Traditions, against which he warned the Muslims to beware. He, therefore, formulated the following principles and suggested that the authenticity of any given Tradition be judged by them.

1. Any Tradition contrary to the text of the Quran must be rejected.
2. Any Tradition in which the existing condition of a thing is described as being known by revelation, but which does not correspond with its nature should be regarded as untrue.
3. Any Tradition dealing with or referring to a historical incident which does not agree with recorded history should be regarded as invalid.
4. A Tradition which deals with an event which would normally be witnessed by many people but which is related only on the authority of a single narrator should not be accepted as true.

5. A Tradition dealing with a matter of general interest, and therefore one which would have been known generally, but which is related only on the authority of the sayer should be taken as doubtful.
6. A Tradition contrary to the general precepts of Islam should be rejected.
7. A Tradition relating unreasonable wonders and not supported by revelation should be rejected.[1]

This was not all. As Sir Syed held the Quran to be the only source of Islamic tenets, his efforts were further directed to prove its conformity with the rational stand-point of a scientific age so that the contempt of Western writers might be removed. For that he accepted the laws of Nature, formulated by the nineteenth-century scientific thinkers, as the real criteria by which to judge the truth of all religions. He argued that true religion should nowhere disagree with the law of nature. "This law", he held, "is but the work of God and the true religion is the word of God. No disharmony, therefore, should exist between the two".[2] He claimed that Islam was a true religion; and, therefore, the Quran was nowhere contradictory to science.

In subsequent issues he produced a series of articles to interpret selected Quranic verses in a rational way. Giving an account of the birth of Adam and the conversation between Satan, the Angels and God, for instance, he claimed that the Angels and Satan simply did not exist. On the other hand, they represent the power with which human beings are

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1. Sir Syed, Mazamin, "Aqsam i Hadith" (Kinds of Traditions), p.191
2. Sir Syed, Muk.Maj., pp.284-286.

endowed of doing good or evil. Further, he argued that the account of Adam's birth given in the Quran did not deny man's gradual development[1], as proved by modern science, but it related that when Adam had almost reached the stage of perfection, after a gradual development of centuries, God ordered him to be, and only then had the first human being come into existence.

Sir Syed's was thus an attempt to "bring Islam into fresh vogue by recognizing and adopting the sum total of Western knowledge, particularly natural science and its allied branches of study"[2]. In this he was the first among the Muslims to feel the need of reconstruction in religious thinking[3].

In his effort to defend Islam as a religion, Sir Syed also sought to make a clear distinction between the religion of Indian Muslims and the culture or civilization they had created. This he did by criticizing his own tendency to confuse civilization and religion. Anxious to confine religion strictly to worship, prayer and belief, he said "The fact is that from the days of my early education I had held faith and the world to be the same ..... After much meditation and contemplation, and after understanding the arguments for and against, and pondering well on the injunctions of God and His Apostle, a difference appeared between the two ..... I am very pleased to confess this, and I believe that it is in fact a great mistake not to differentiate between religious and worldly affairs, and to treat them equally as religious injunctions"[4].

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1. Sir Syed, Mazamin, "Adam ki Sarguzisht" (Story of Adam), p.197. See also his articles to interpret the term "Seventh heaven" and magic, etc. Mazāmīn, pp. 244, 257-286.
2. Richter, History of Indian Missions, pp. 401-2.
3. Iqbal, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam, p.19.
4. Tasānif Ahmadiya, part 1, vol. 1, p.136.

He dwelt much upon this view. He quoted a Hadith and commenting upon it said: "All social degeneration is the consequence of the wrong conception according to which worldly and religious affairs are both included in religion, and the consequence of neglecting the saying of the Prophet that "you know worldly affairs better than I"[1]

In another article dealing with this same view he again urged that true religion has no connection with worldly affairs, though it does deal with some important matters, which have great influence upon worldly comportment and morals.[2]

In this, as in his other efforts, he was motivated by the wish to save Islam from the contempt of western writers. Thus he wrote: "Religion should be used as religion. Worldly affairs should be dealt with as worldly, and religious affairs as religious. To mix religious affairs with worldly affairs would incur ridicule from the followers of other religions".

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1. Sir Syed, "Na Muhazzab Mulk aur na Muhazzab Government" (Uncivilized Country and uncivilized Government) Mazamin, p.145.
2. Sir Syed "Taqrir i Khadive Misr" (Speech of the Khedive of Egypt) ibid p.148.
3. Sir Syed was unable in practice to keep religion and civilization always separate. Had the division been carried to its logical extreme, he could scarcely have written his Series of Essays and other articles to prove Islam a cultural and civilizing force. Nor in writing his Tafsir (Commentary on the Quran), would he have dwelt upon social question such as polygamy, slavery, usury and theft. Nor, for that matter, would he have felt it inevitable and right that religious education should be part and parcel of the general educational system. It was no less authentically the voice of Sir Syed which declared "There are in Islam all those right things which lead worldly progress and humanity, civilization and kind heartedness to perfection" and which, denouncing the narrow conception of piety and goodness of some religious authorities which held men back from social service and benevolence, condemned "worship which instead of softening the heart hardens it and thus is only show". Mazamin, P.173

So side by side with efforts to purify the sources of religion, Sir Syed produced another series of essays surveying the decaying social condition of the Indian Muslims, as seen through Western eyes, and exposing the social weaknesses which degraded Muslims in the opinion of Europeans. This survey was accompanied by an elaborate programme of reform and betterment which necessitated the acceptance and assimilation of Western ideas and culture in accord/ance with reformed religious principles of Islam.

Sir Syed's method was to take a general estimate of all the vices prevalent among the Muslims and then to make a point of devoting at least one article to each social vice, in order to show its injurious effect upon the general progress of the individual, and its share in promoting other vices in society, and in bringing about national degeneration. He concluded every article with an account of the effect of that particular vice on the Muslims and of the way it had lowered them in the eyes of European nations, and with an appeal to Muslims to correct themselves.

The number of such articles is very great, and only passages from one or two can be quoted here. Writing about ill-treatment of women he wrote "The civilized nations have raised their women to an extremely high level of advancement notwithstanding that their religious law in respect of womenfolk was very defective and bad.[1] Muslims on account of being uncivilized have adopted a course of such ill-treatment towards their women that all the nations laugh at their condition notwithstanding

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1. One Muslim writer compares thus the status of women according to Islam and other religions:

"Even to this day the legal position of women in most advanced countries

that their religious law regarding women and their well-being was far better than that of the whole world".[1]

After having compared the rights given by Christianity and Islam to women, he came to the conclusion that Islam had given them more rights than Christianity, but that the existing condition of women in Western countries was much better than that of women in the Muslim countries of the world. He asserted: "Those people who attribute these disadvantages to Islam are certainly wrong. Rather the degradation of women in India is on account of not following the orders of Islam. If they are followed all these defects will certainly disappear".[2]

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of Christendom compares most unfavourably with that of a Muslim woman. Until very recently a married woman in England had no rights independently of her husband, although by courtesy called his "better half". It is only a short time ago that the position of woman in England was improved by some legislative enactments. ..... In the exercise of legal powers and functions, Islam placed woman on a footing of perfect equality with man. The position of a Muslim woman in the matter of inheritance and individual rights is much better than that of her sisters professing other religions. "Men ought to have a part of what their parents and kindred leave and women a part of what their parents and kindred leave: let them have a stated share". (Al-Quran). Thus, fourteen hundred years ago, Islam gave to woman the right to property which she did not get in England until 1875, and has not got in France even yet. A Muslim woman has full liberty in the choice of her husband ..... Besides, no marriage contract is complete without the settlement of a dower for the wife: Her claim to it on the death of her husband, has preference over all creditors and heirs to the property of the deceased. She has been given the full right of enjoying and alienating her property. She can do business independently and enter into any contract she likes; her husband has no right of interference. After marrige she retains her distinct individuality and she has not to merge her identity, as her Christian sisters have to do, by assuming her husband's surname as Mrs. So and So".
Maulavi Abdul Kavim, B.A., Islam, a Universal Religion of Peace and Progress pp. 20, 21, 22.

1. Sir Syed, Mazamin "Kinkin Chizon men Tahzib Chahiye" (In what matters reform is wanted) pp.55-56.
2. ibid. 'Auraton ke Huqūq" (Rights of Women) p.74.

Writing about truthfulness, he stated: "It is important that all people should take truthfulness as essential to their dignity. One should assume statements of others to be true so that the person who speaks should be ashamed to lose the confidence of others. We see that we often say to our children and friends in fun: "Do not tell a lie". Such things lessen the shame of lying which is the greatest cause of national disgrace and incivility".[1]

He summed up his campaign against vice in Muslim society by stating that social degeneration was not confined to certain aspects, but that it had permeated the whole social and moral life of the community. He found it to be an inevitable social law, that "when a nation declines, degeneration is not confined to any one aspect, but it penetrates into every thing, religion, morals, education, honesty, integrity, civilization, wealth, dignity and solidarity".[2]

He found the same social law at work in Indian Muslim society. "At this stage of progress there is nothing worse than the morals of our countrymen. We find one or other defect in every moral virtue .... Integrity, which is the essence of a human being, is scanty, nay rather extinct. The purity of soul which itself is humanity, does not exist even in name; malice, emnity and envy are becoming common instead of kind-heartedness, love and sincerity. Ungraciousness and shamelessness have become the common behaviour .... Selfless love and unity, which were much more prevalent in India than in other countries, have now become

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1. Sir Syed, Mazamin, p.53.
2. ibid., pp. 55-56.

extinct here ... Pride,deceit,conceit and inhumanity are given precedence instead.... The desire to be flattered is so common in these days that no one however widely reputed as just,honest and pious he may be,is pleased unless he is flattered...After thoughtful consideration we find it to be a general practice which is extremely regrettable,and the reason of India's decline. Emnity,envy and malice are more common between people within a profession than between people working at different professions"[1].

He explained to the Muslims that it was because of this decayed social condition that they were deprived of that moral force which he used to call "National Sympathy"[2],the nationhal virtue which urges people to struggle for their collective welfare.He asserted that national prestige could not be achieved without first creating National Sympathy.

Whatever moral virtues he could see in Indian Muslims,and those were few,were also affected. Social decadence had transformed them into "Savage Virtues"[3]and instead of being beneficial they had become dangerous. People possessed courage but it was dangerous; they had persistence but it was used inappropriately;they had patience and content but made no right use of them; they possessed wisdom but often resorted to cunning[4].

In this criticism of Muslim society Sir Syed might seem to be dealing very much with abstractions and ideas,but he was prepared,as even Baljon has pointed out,to take from the West quite material reforms"../ he founded

1. Sir Syed,Editorial,A.I.G.August 6th,1875,
2. _____,speech dated Jan.23rd,1883,Muk.Maj,p.199.
3. _____,"Wahshiyana Neki",(Savage Virtue),Mazamin,pp.88-90.
4. _____,"Ta'lim"(Education),ibid.p.88.

a Homeopathic Hospital and introduced into the Viceregal Legislative Council a bill[1] for small-pox vaccination ...."and his comments upon Muslim habits extended to such practicalities as dress and table manners. "Though the Muslims considered themselves to observe great dignity and refinement in their dress and gatherings,and though they decorate their Daster Khawans[2] with various delicious foods and fine plates and dishes made of gold,silver,cut glass and china-ware,yet that nation /the English/ which observes more decency in its dress and manners of eating and dringking,looks down on them with contempt".

"Those people who take their food with fork and knife and change plates,forks and knives with every course,laugh at eating with the hand. I am sure that Muslims will argue that our Prophet himself used to take his food with his hand.But they should know that he had always the most simple bread.He had no such rich foods as we usually have.Rich foods make your hands a mouth sticky and that makes others sick to see. If you insist on having simple methods you should also eat simple food. You eat the foods of Pharaoh and insist on following the methods of the Prophet,and these two do not go together[3]". "Unless dress and social manners", he used to assert,"are reformed,it is quite impossible to attain the respect of civilized nations,to escape from their comtempt or to meet them on an equal level[4]"...If cultural and social manners are

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1. Baljon,op.cit.,p.32.
2. Piece of cloth on which the meal is served in India and Pakistan.
3. Sir Syed, "Tariqa i Zindagi" (Way of Living),Mazamin,P.76.
4. _____, "Sultan Mahmud Khan,the late Sultan of Rome," ibid.p.477.

too unsophisticated they tend to detract from the merits of a nation.. It depends much upon the fashion of dressing,manners of eating and drinking,behaviour and morals and habits of the people whether a nation looks dignified or not".[1]

Sir Syed did not make these statements to create an inferiority complex among the Muslims.He assured the Muslims that "All these things /social vices/ appear to be unduly numerous but they are so related to one another that if reform and progress were started in on the result would be that they would rectify themselves".[2] In regard to the condition of the Muslim community,he asserted"that the decadence though wide,could still be arrested if the Muslims were wisely to adopt the right method".But he said: "There is not so much power left in us as to allow us to progress on our own,therefore there is no other way than that some other nation should become the means of our progress and extend our mental capacilities.It will be after our mental faculties have been set into motion and our creative power refreshed that we will be able to make progress".[3]

The nation to which he looked for help in the regeneration of creative power in his community was no other than the English people He sought to convince the Muslims that"If,wisely and cleverly,we select for our own use the customs of other nations,we can secure greater benefits from them than do the people to which they belong.For,not being intimately involved in these customs we can analyse their merits and demerits.

1. Sir Syed,"Mubarakbadi i Id"(Id Greetings),ibid.p.584.
2. ————,"Kin Kin Chizon men Tahzib chahiye"(In what matters reform is wanted?),ibid pp.55-56.
3. ————,"Rasm wa Riwaj ki Pabandiyon ke Nuqsanat"(Disadvantages of Customs and Traditions)ibid,p.30.

Looking at the condition of a nation we can survey hundreds of years of experience, experience which finally decides whether a custom is good or bad".[1]

He interpreted the nature of social customs and their relationship to the social order in a rationalistic way so as to prove them changeable according to the development of society. "As it is essential for the life of man to inhale fresh and vitalizing air and to exhale the polluted air so it is essential for human society to change and develop its customs and usages. Though everybody thinks that there is no need of any change in our customs and usages, yet if we consider the causes which brought those customs and usages into existence it will become clear that the very causes, excepting a few, are themselves always changeable with the result that they all are developed with the passing of time. Therefore it is essential that their results, i.e. the usages, should also change and develop. Put into logical order the proposition comes to this: Customs are the results of the demands of the times, and these demands themselves are always changing, therefore the customs too must change".[2]

Quoting such writers as Tacitus, Virgil, Sir Walter Raleigh and Goldsmith who stood for adherence to custom, he concluded "If reform of customs had not been practised among the race of human beings from the beginning, and if all people had been in favour of fidelity to customs such as were Tacitus, Virgil and Mr. Goldsmith, whose statements I have quoted above, as you know, what would have been our condition now? One of us

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1. 'Abdullah Khweshtagi, Maqalat i Sir Syed, p.111.
2. Sir Syed, Lecture dated Nov. 3, 1873, Muk. Maj. p.101

might have had a few leaves of the trees clapped to front and back, and another would have wrapped round him the unclean, hairy skin of some animal, and all would have been sitting under the trees in Eden singing hymns in praise of God. Thus, people who are against reform and progress are prohibiting to others things which they themselves have practised. That is, they have adopted customs of one progressive age and prohibited others from adopting customs of a still more progressive age".[1]

He looked at human society as something not stagnant but subject to development. He argued: "Five generations back were all the customs and manners the same as are now prevalent among us? Never!"

He interpreted good culture in such a way as to remove any feeling of estrangement where foreign culture was concerned and he asserted that it was wrong to say that culture was for every country something separate and distinct. "Culture, if we do not mistake its meaning, is not relative, but an absolute thing; therefore it cannot vary. Misunderstanding this, people think that such and such an aspect of culture belongs to that country; and does not belong to our country. To accept such a view involves making a single thing good in one country but bad in another".[2]

Even before his journey to England he had adopted western dress and western ways of living. He used to live in a western-style bungalow, outside the densely populated city area; he used to take his food at table, and used to wear English boots, coat and pantaloons.

Sir Syed may have been right in advising the upper-class Muslims to

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1. ibid. p.105.
2. ibid. "Mubarik bad 'id", p.584.

adopt western dress and manners. Tufail Ahmad Manglori, a student of the M.A.O. College in Sir Syed's time, argued "It is true that the great difference between the cultures of the rulers and the ruled had lowered the Indians and particularly Muslims, who were backward in education and service, making them small in their own eyes. The highest Indian official and chief looked low before English officials, and was always afraid of being insulted. If an Indian and Englishman were to travel in the same compartment of a railway/train sometimes the Indian had to face gross insults. Therefore it cannot be denied that the immediate remedy was to make the upper-class Indians adopt their rulers' dress".[1] The writer, however, realised that imitation, however flattering, might not always win approval, for he went on, "In the beginning the upper-class Hindus had also followed the same method and had adopted, though gradually, western civilization. Sir Syed, contrary to that, tried to westernize Muslims rapidly, as a mission. Thus he provoked great resentment and had to face opposition not only from old-fashioned Muslims but also from English officials who did not like to see the Indians as their equals in dress and culture".[2]

It was only natural that in a stagnant society such as that of the Indian Muslims in the nineteenth century, Sir Syed's endeavours towards westernizing cultural standards should have met with opposition. The opposition came from men of middle class educated in the Eastern style who were likely to be directly affected by his efforts and who were able to keep themselves informed of his activities through books, magazines and

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1. Tufail Ahmad Manglori, Musalmānon ka Raushan Mustaqbil (the Bright Future of the Muslims), P.205.
2. ibid. pp. 205-6.

newspapers. He was opposed especially by the 'Ulama,the religious leaders of the society,who saw in Sir Syed's rationalistic interpretations a special danger to their own social position and to the customs and traditions which they regarded as founded on a religious basis.To them the westernization of society was against religion.The illiterate masses stood aloof and indifferent to this battle of ideas,as it was beyond their intelligence and was unlikely to change their material position.

No sooner then were these ideas of reform published than criticism started and quickly"extended more or less to the whole of the Native Press,or at least to the larger portion of it".[1] Articles were contributed in different newspapers,special papers were even founded and issued as a counterpoise to the Tahzib ul Akhlaq,and Fatwas branding him a heretic were launched against Sir Syed by the 'Ulama of Mecca,Medina and India. He was called anti-Christ,Nechri(Nature worshipper),atheist,heretic and what not.[2] One Urdu magazine,the Nur ul Afaq,which was issued as a counterpoise to the Tahzib,in its first issue gave its aim as follows:

"In these days,in India,the devil of the age has taken his birth. He has opened the door for vanity,sedition,heresy and atheism. On account of his filthy habits the characters of the Prophets are being

1.Report on The Administration,N.W.P.,1870-71,p.266.para.4.

2.At this time,his friends Muhsin ul Mulk and Wiqar ul Mulk also had been writing in support of Sir Syed,on similar subjects.The difference between Sir Syed's and Muhsin ul Mulk's styles has been well described by Hali:"In his writings Sir Syed always used to rebuke and reproach the Muslims and to point out the mistakes of the old 'Ulama.He committed his views to paper without supporting them with the sayings of the men of old.On the other hand,Muhsin ul Mulk stimulated the hearts of the Muslims by describing to them the achievements of their ancestors.Whatever he wrote in support of Sir Syed made reference to the standard and reliable authorities of old.Most of his articles are treatises of fairly considerable size which have been written with great research and labour." Hali,Hayat,vol.2,p.320.

insulted,the meanings of the Book are being turned upside down. Islamic customs are maintained to be heretical and the methods of apostates are being regarded as "perfect and pure Islam". A paper has been issued to popularize these atheistic ideas; and is called according to the verse "the Ethiopian is contrarily called "Camphor"(white)—the Reform of Morals. It is,therefore,necessary for the protectors of Islam to refute the charges of these atheists. Therefore to dispel the darkness of the children of infidelity the paper Nur ul Afaq has been issued with the help of the children of Islam".[1]

From this statement it can be seen that the opposition was mainly religious and social. The 'Ulama were enraged by the idea that the reliability of the canonical Hadiths embodying the social morality of Islam in its first two centuries (which they regarded as final)should be challenged by Sir Syed. The rational interpretation of the Quran also angered them no less,since they thought it an insult to the Book. Indeed they suspected Sir Syed of inventing a new religious dogma.An article in the next issue of the Nur ul Afaq,written by a certain Wahid Khan,throws more light on the motives behind the opposition to Sir Syed's ideas.He wrote:"We do not attack Syed Anmed Khan for presuading the Muslims to strive both for their worldy as well as for their religious welfare,but what we hate is the motive underlying his activities.He wants to

1. The Nur ul Afaq,August 30,1873. See also for such articles:Kitab Tardid ul Ibtal,by Maulvi 'Alī Bakhsh Khan;Risala Muzil ul Auham, by Hakim Mirza Muhammad Kazim;Tasfiyat ul Aqa'id,by Maulvi Qasim Nanatoi;Risala Terwin Sadi,1296,A.H.;Taid ul Islam,1298 A.H.;Benares Gazette,Sept.1873.,etc.

wipe out the distinctions between the Christians and the Muslims by interpreting their Books and Religious Laws in such a way as to convert both communities to atheism. He seek to achieve, under the pretext of religious reform, ends which are difficult to achieve under the British Government while communal, ritual and religious distinctions remain."[1]

A certain Maulvi Imdad ul 'Ali, Deputy Collector at Cawnpore, was particularly hostile to the mission of Sir Syed. He kept himself busy for a considerable time in publishing articles to refute Sir Syed's ideas and intentions, and wrote a book Imdad ul Afaq. In this book, distributed free to Muslims throughout India, were published the Fatwas of Kufr, (charges of heresy), delivered against Sir Syed by all the important 'Ulema of India (to the number of sixty).[2]

A famous scholar of Lucknow, Maulvi 'Abdul Hai, denounced Sir Syed as the follower of Satan: "The existence of Satan and of Jinns is proved from the Book, and one who disbelieves in that existence is himself a devil - or more than a devil, since Satan himself does not deny his own existence .... The existence of the sky (as a solid or fixed thing) is also found according to the Book; and the disbeliever is deceived by Satan .... God only knows what evil thing this religion of Nechar (Nature) is, but every pious man declines to accept it".[3]

The opposition of the 'Ulema was not actually based on theoretical

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1. The Nur ul-Afaq, vol. 1, No. 2.
   It is interesting to note here a parallel to the efforts made by Shah Waliullah of Delhi in the previous century to counter efforts by liberals such as Akbar and Dārā Shikoh to blur the distinctions between Hindus and Muslims.
2. Imdad ul 'Ali, Imdad ul Afaq (Help of the world), pp.78-84.
3. Maulvi 'Abdul Hai, quoted by Hali, Hayat, vol. 2, pp. 283-4.

differences alone. It was the question of the dominance and prestige of the old teachers also.[1] They, therefore, held a formidable opposition to the mission of Sir Syed.

Indeed the opposition was so strong that Sir Syed's friends insisted that he should refute the allegations of his opponents, and explain his true position regarding his religious beliefs. Both Sir Syed and Maulvi Muhsin ul Mulk wrote articles[2] in the Tahzib to examine the allegations in detail and to reassert their views with fresh arguments.

Despite the rivalry of his formidable opponents, and their bitter wordy attacks, Sir Syed could see that his ideas were gradually gaining ground and that his magazine was growing more popular. Two years and four months after the magazine had been started, he wrote: "Some old hearts have calmed down after abusing us, while others have become kind to us. New hearts are now full of enthusiasm for opposing us and have very sharp tongues to accuse us. But we have not lost our wonted courage".[3] "Some of our friends have sent complimentary letters to us saying that they like our writing and simple style".[4]

"What makes us even happier is that our opponents wait more anxiously than our friends for each new number of our magazine, and still happier that people discuss its articles and pay attention to them, not of course, to endorse them but to reject them. Some editors have started to refute our articles professionally; and in places associations have even been /

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1. Guillaume, Islam, pp.157-8.
2. Sir Syed's article Dafa'ul Buhtan (remover of the false accusations), see Tahzib ul Akhlaq, vol.11, pp.314-344; and Muhsin ul Mulk's Takfir i Musalmanan (Accusing Muslims of Polytheism), Tahzib ul Akhlaq, vol.1, pp.269-274.
3. Sir Syed, Mazamin "Ikhtitam sal 1289 A.H. Shuru Sal 1290 A.H.", p.513.
4. ibid. p.518.

formed to discuss our articles,so as to refute them.Some have taken upon themselves the task of proving their old rough blankets to be suitable garments for every occasion. Magazines to rival ours have been started at Cawnpore and Gorakhpore, while yet others are to be started later. All these things are encouraging,for they imply that our writings are influential."[1]

Later Sir Syed was able to rejoice still more at his substantial achievements. In his articles "The influece of the Tahzib ul Akhlaq" he enumerated the different aspects of social behaviour and the thoughts revolutionised by it.

The most important change which he noticed was the rebirth of life in the depressed hearts of the Muslims."There is in every heart some kind of enthusiasm. While one is thinking of refuting its articles, another is determined to declare us heretics.One is praising our writings when another is accusing the admirer.The thing,therefore,that is highly inspiring is that many hearts now believe that our nation is undoubtedly degenerating and that something should be done for the nation. If our writings have really had so much influence,we must believe that our desire had been fulfilled".[2]

Another healthy influence which he perceived was that Muslims were convinced of the poverty of the indigenous system of education and its curriculum.Some wanted to improve it,while others had an inner desire to do away with it and to learn the modern sciences,But"they are too shy

1.Sir Syed,"Zikr i Parcha i Tahzib ul Akhlaq"(Recollection of the Magazine Tahzib ul Akhlaq)Mazamin, pp.518-9.
2.Sir Syed,"Tahzib ul Akhlaq ka Asar Dilon par"(The influence of Tahzib ul Akhlaq on the Minds) ibid,pp.519-20.

to express themselves openly and think it against their piety and priesthood".[1]

Muslims had also learned to spend money on the education of their children. Not only did they readily pay high fees to schools and colleges; they also contributed generously to the establishment and maintenance of schools.

Religion was the only field in which the influence of the teaching of the Tahzib ul-Akhlaq was not distinctly perceivable, though, as will be shown, this field also did not remain unaffected. An anonymous letter to Sir Syed dated October 29th, 1876, ran: "... Those Muslim students who were not satisfied with their religion are delighted that your writings have removed their doubts and have impressed the beauty of Islam upon them".[2]

Sir Syed knew how difficult were changes in belief. He wrote:"It is not an easy job to eradicate popular customs, especially religious customs. Although we do not hope to do anything towards it, we continue nevertheless to warn people. There is no wonder if some hearts have already softened or may soften in future."[3]

Though Sir Syed remained under individual attacks on religious grounds, till the end of his life, his religious ideas did not fail to attract the favourable attention of an important section of the Maulvis. His influence spread gradually both among the 'Ulama and to the modern educated class. But that happened only in later years. Before 1878 he could

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1. ibid."Iska asr Talim wa Tarbiyat par";(Its influence on education & training), p.520.
2. ibid."Murasilat" (Correspondence), p.392.
3. ibid."Asr Mazhabi khiyalat par" (Influence on religious thoughts),p523 In 1903 one certain Nausher Ali Khan Yusufzai claimed:"the more the Musalmans know of English and Christianity the deeper becomes their conviction in Islam". Note on Muhammadan Education in Bengal, Proceedings of the Govt. of Eastern Bengal and Assam for the month of April 1906. Appointment Dept. Branch Ed. vol.7215, p.7.

achieve no more than the influencing of his own friends,who had already been working with him for educational reforms,and many students,and the stirring into life of the religious beliefs of the educated Muslims.

The most revolutionary effect of the Tahzib could be seen in the field of Urdu literature. Sir Syed had regarded it as his duty to improve the Urdu language and its literature. "In his writings he introduced a clear and simple method of expression,shorn of exaggeration and ornament,relying on reasoning more than rhetoric for effect".[1] In reviewing Sir Syed's style Shibli has observed that the one remarkable and highly characteristic quality of his was that he had the singular ability simaltaneously to grasp a variety of subjects and to bring the notable versatility of his genius to bear upon them. He could write and write thoughtfully and elegantly on almost all subjects,however abstruse with a peculiar grace,facility and command for Sir Syed traversed a vast and varied expanse of subjects -- Ethics,Sociology, Politics, Religion,History, Archaeology and deep and controversial subjects. And the marvel is that what ever he has written is characterised by its scholarly merit and literary finish.[2] Not only did he introduce,through the articles of his magazine,many western thoughts and ideas among the Muslims,which influenced their future social,educational and political life,but he also greatly enriched Urdu literature. English economists and political thinkers such as Mill,Spencer,or Burke,and literary figures

1. O'Malley,Modern India and the West,p.525.
2. See The Moslem Chronicle, Jan 18th,1898,p.761.

figures such as Bacon, Macaulay and Carlyle were introduced to Urdu readers. The teachings of such writers were accepted as models to be followed. Muslims, for the first time in history, were introduced to the western conception of self-help and of nationality. Through its articles themes were suggested to writers, and a whole group of eminent writers, known as the Aligarh group, was formed. Indeed, each and every form of Urdu literature was influenced and enriched by the writings of the Aligarh group. The biographies of Hali, the histories of Maulvis Zakaullah and Shibli, the prose style of Sir Syed himself and of Maulvis Muhsin ul-Mulk and Nazir Ahmad, the poetry written by Hali not only added new elements to their respective fields but often revolutionised them. The capacity of the language as a vehicle of literary and scientific expression was expanded, and several forms were borrowed from English literature. When the Magazine was first published, Urdu literature "lacked in essentials, and stood in need of as much purification as the society itself which had fostered it".[1] Moreover, the influence of the Tahzib ul-Akhlaq was not limited to those who wrote in Urdu. It incited a number of competent writers such as Maulvi Chiragh 'Ali and Sayyid Amir 'Ali to write in English also in defence of Islam.

As far as the second important aim of the Tahzib ul Akhlaq was concerned, which was to refute the allegations of western writers against Islam, Sir Syed showed himself equally energetic. From among the various

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1. Sayyid 'Abdul Latif, The Influence of English Literature on Urdu Literature, pp. 50-51.

charges against Islam Sir Syed picked up first of all slavery.

Until its final abolition in the middle of the nineteenth century, slavery had been accepted by Europeans as an acknowledged element in the economic order. The trade in African slaves to the plantations of the New World had been most extensive, and often most brutal. It was only finally stopped in Europe in 1842 -- by which date the process of industrialisation, whereby machine replaced human labour, was already much advanced.

Among Muslims, although slavery was found, it was slavery of an entirely different type, household slavery. The existence of strong warnings against bad treatment of slaves both in the Quran and the Hadith meant that the condition of slaves among the Muslims was never so pitiable as it often had been under Christian Europeans.

But Europeans who had ended their own slave trade found even this lighter Muslim slavery an inhuman practice, and sought its abolition. (Sometimes, they saw that abolition would serve their economic interests as well as their conscience).[1]

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1. The economic advantages in abolishing the slave trade were thus estimated by S.W. Baker, the head of the mission set up by the Khedive to abolish slavery. "Should the slave trade be suppressed, there will be a good opening for the ivory trade; the conflicting trading parties being withdrawn, and the interest of the trade exhibited by a single company, the natives would no longer be able to barter ivory for cattle; thus they would be forced to accept other goods in exchange. The newly-discovered Albert Lake opens the centre in lat. 4 55. Seven days march south of that station the navigable portion of the Nile is reached, whence vessels can ascend direct to the Albert Lake, thus an enormous extent of country is opened to navigation and Manchester goods and various other articles would find a ready market in exchange for ivory at a prodigious profit, as in those newly discovered regions ivory has a merely nominal value". Quoted from "The Albert N'yanza" by Sir Samuel E. Baker, Ismailia, vol. 11, pp. 50-3.

So British and other Anti-Slavery Societies published documents on the subject of the African slave trade and on slavery in Egypt and Turkey. And zealous missionaries went on to attack the religion of those Muslims who still tolerated the practice they had seen abandoned by Europe. Of this type was the attack in Sir W. Muir's book "The Life of Mohamet".

The position and influence that Sir W. Muir held as a scholar, historian and high official gave much weight to his charges. Sir Syed had already tried to refute the charges it contained in his Khutbat, published in 1870, but because of the importance of the subject he thought it best to deal with it more elaborately in a lengthy article devoted exclusively to slavery. Accordingly in successive issues of his magazine Tahzib ul-Akhlaq appeared a long article on slavery. This article was published later in book form in 1872 at Benares under the title of Ibtal i Ghulami. It was reprinted at Agra in 1893. It was divided into seven chapters. In the first chapter Sir Syed claimed that slavery was contrary to human nature. He stated "Liberty and slavery are so incompatible with each other that they cannot exist at the same time, nor can they progress side by side. Therefore both can never be in accordance with the will of God".[1]

Then he dwelt upon the history of slavery, how it was introduced and practised in different countries, and what great thinkers and prophets thought and did about it.

In the second chapter he renewed his claim that slavery is contrary

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1. Sir Syed, Ibtal i Ghulami, p.2.

to human nature; and, dwelling much upon the vices of slavery, he asserted that "a true religion, dictated by God, cannot allow such vices"[1].

In the fifth chapter he went on to prove that Islam, the true religion, did not in fact permit slavery. No one, not even if captured in Jihad[2], could be made a slave. (Some Muslim doctors had believed that during a Jihad captives could be enslaved). In proof of his view he quoted the following verse. "When ye encounter the unbelievers, strike off their heads until ye have made a great slaughter amongst them, and bind them in bonds, and either let them go free thereafter or exact a ransom"[3]. He argued that the Arabic word Imma, meaning 'either' or 'or', limited the meaning of the word or phrase with which it was used; and that it was therefore impossible that, in this verse, it could apply to anything but to prisoners being set free after battle or being ransomed. Captives taken in a religious war Sir Syed maintained, therefore, could not lawfully be retained as slaves.

His interpretation of the given verse, though new, was logical, but his treatment of the subject was polemic, and his argument, that slavery, an institution incompatible with civilization in the nineteenth century, had always been harmful and contrary to human nature, was very hard driven. He had to ignore the fact that all institutions change in value and to deny the possibility that slavery could ever have been useful. He had to insist that Islam did not recognise or permit the institution of slavery. Much more tenable would have been the argument that early Islam had

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1. ibid. p.24.
2. ibid. p.72.
3. ibid. pp. 71-2.

recognised slavery as a useful social institution, but that provision had been made in the Quran for supporting its future abolition when the human social order changed.

As his arguments about slavery were based on an interpretation of the Quran which differed from that held by the old authorities, they were not acceptable to contemporary scholars. Muslims thus found in his articles on slavery new grounds for opposing him. As for the Europeans for whom Sir Syed really wrote the article, they just failed to notice it.[1]

In his work of refuting the charges of Western writers against Islam Sir Syed was greatly helped by Maulvi Chiragh 'Ali. His name was added as a contributor to those of Sir Syed and Muhsin ul-Mulk three years and four months after the foundation of the Magazine.[2] Born in 1844 he, like Muhsin ul-Mulk, started his career in a petty government job, but steadily progressed. He ended his career as Secretary of Finance in the Nizam's State, a post he held for several years. "For a time, before meeting Sir Syed, he was attracted to Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadiyan and his method of countering those (Christian) criticisms. When he came in contact with the Aligarh movement, he transferred to it his

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1. In 1888, nineteen years after Sir Syed's article, another Muslim, Ahmad Bek Shafiq, motivated by the same feelings, wrote a pamphlet on slavery, in French. He argued that Islam not only improved the condition of existing slaves but through its ordinances also closed the door to future slavery. From the Quranic verse used by Sir Syed, Ahmed Bek Shafiq argued that only non-Muslims, taken during a Holy War, might be enslaved, and that since they were allowed to buy their liberty by paying a ransom, none were kept as slaves. Hali, Hayat, vol. 2, p.205.
2. Sir Syed, Mazamin, "Ikhtitam i sal 1290 A.H. wa Shuru' i sal 1291 A.H." (End of the year 1290 A.H. and the beginning of the year 1291 A.H.), p.531.

enthusiastic support"[1] Chiragh 'Ali was a scholar both in English and in the Oriental classical languages. He, therefore, wrote books in English besides contributing to the magazine in Urdu. In his style and discussion he was a true adherent of Sir Syed and wrote vigorously against Taqlid. Some of the missionary charges against Islam, already refuted by Sir Syed in his Khutbat, Chiragh 'Ali refuted more precisely.

In the four years up to 1876, when publication of the Tahzib ul Akhlaq was suspended for the first time, he wrote several lengthy articles on such topics as "Four Obvious Effects which Islam has produced upon the Welfare of Mankind"[2], and "Literary Benefits of Islam"[3], etc. His support thus carried forward the movement of Aligarh considerably. Chiragh 'Ali's independent ~~writings independent~~ writings in defence of Islam undertaken after the cessation of the Tahzib ul Akhlaq will be mentioned later).

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1. Smith, Islam in Modern India, p.29.
2. Chiragh, 'Ali, Mazamin i Tahzib ul Akhlaq, vol.1. pp.14-74.
3. ibid. pp.74-89.

(III)

Educational Aspect

Although ever since the Mutiny Sir Syed had been busy with one or other of his educational activities and all his educational institutions had prospered,yet Sir Syed had little hope in 1870 that his educational scheme prepared in England would ever be appreciated by his co-religionists. The reason was that his new educational scheme differed fundamentally from his previous schemes.

At Moradabad he had sought in his school to revive an older educational tradition, adding perhaps a new emphasis upon the study of history. At Ghazipur he introduced in his school the study of the English language, but only indirectly the study of western science. In either case,though he sought to reawaken the Muslim community, his effort was still in educational terms. With his Translation Society, as his exposition of his aims showed, his horizons had widened, and he sought to make available to Indians the whole sweep of Western knowledge, but through the Muslims' own language. The social purpose implicit in his educational programme became more explicit. But after 1870 his work, though still in the educational field, is openly political and social. He seeks to Westernise the Muslims, to align them with the British power in India,, and to give them a self-conscious unity, with Aligarh as their centre. His new instrument is not a school, but a University where the rising generation of

upper-class Muslims shall - through a new curriculum - and a new form of college life - be made sharers in the new scientific civilization of the West.

A presentiment of the difficulties with which his scheme was fraught made Sir Syed all but abandon hope of ever establishing the College. He knew what opposition was to be expected from the orthodox. His friends and relatives, to whom he had disclosed what was in his heart, were united in thinking that his was a crazy[1] hope of collecting one million rupees from the Muslims for the establishment of a College. Indeed Sir Syed was greatly worried.

If Sir Syed was encouraged at this time, it was by Muhsin ul Mulk, who had already been so helpful in the establishment of the Tahzib ul Akhlaq. It had been due to his enthusiastic help and influence that, even before the first issue of the Tahzib was out, Sir Syed had been able to form another committee in December 1870 to consider the problem of the education of the Muslims of India. After Muhsin ul Mulk, other influential and educated people came forward, especially those who had once been students of the old Delhi College, and had learned through Urdu the Western sciences. Most prominent of these were Zaka ullah and Nazir Ahmad. Sami'ullah Khan and Mushtaq Husain,[2] better known by his title Wiqarul Mulk, were other such friends who in later days took a greater interest in the College than any one else. Sami' ullah Khan (1834-1908) especially devoted his life to the establishment of the College. Educated in the old Eastern style, he had

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1. Salim ullah, 'Aligarh ki kuchh Pahli Ramkahani, (Some early Account of Aligarh), pp.64-5. Zain ul 'Abidin, one of Sir Syed's most intimate friends, seriously thought he had gone mad.
2. Born in 1841, he was almost a quarter century younger than Sir Syed. He started his life as a teacher at the small salary of Rs.10. soon (contd.)

always been interested in educational problems. Not only had he, for some time, given instruction to others in various branches of Arabic learning but he had also founded an Arabic School at Delhi. He was also a member of the Educational Committee established in the Aligarh district by the British Government. When Sir Syed presented his scheme to his friends, Sami'ullah Khan was officiating as subordinate judge at Aligarh, and on account of his piety and scholarly habits he exercised considerable influence over the people.[1] After joining Sir Syed he used both his money and influence lavishly for the success of the college scheme.[2] Unhapoily in 1889, on account of a conflict over administrative policy Sami'ullah was led to sever his connection with the M.A.O. College, and be established the Muhammadan Hostel at Allahabad. However, his help was invaluable to the College in its early stages, especially as Sir Syed had been transferred from Aligarh to Benares in 1867, and so was somewhat out of touch with Aligarh.

When the Committee on Education was formed, at Benares, Sir Syed asked it to circulate his Appeal which he had ready at hand and which

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he got the job of Reader (Sarishtadar) at Court at Aligarh and worked first with Sir Syed and then by the side of Maulvi Sami'ullah Khan. From the first he took an interest in Sir Syed's work and till 1875, when he got a job at Hyderabad-Deccan he helped Maulvi Sami'ullah Khan who in Sir Syed's absence from Aligarh was working for the establishment of the school. During his service in Hyderabad he helped the College tremendously both with his purse and with his influence. He was selected as the Secretary of the M.A.O. College in 1907 after the death of Muhsin ul-Mulk. He died on 27th January, 1917.

1. It was in his bungalow that the first meeting was held "in the face of great official and local opposition". See the Pioneer, 28th Sept. 1907.

2. The Pioneer, 28th Sept. 1907. There is an article on Maulvi Sami-ullah Khan under the title "Indians of today".

he had had printed both in Urdu and in English. Accordingly, the "Appeal to the followers of Islam and Government Authorities of India, in connection with the progress of Education among Indian Muslims"[1] was widely distributed. Copies of it were sent to the Government of the N.W.P. , to the Education Officers and to others. It was also published in the Scientific Society's newspaper. The gist of the Appeal was that although the British Government had extended its educational facilities to all Indian citizens alike - irrespective of their race or religion - yet the Muslims had not availed themselves of its benefits. This reluctance on the part of Muslims would inevitably impede the economic, social, moral and political progress, not only of the Muslims but also of all Indians. The Muslims, therefore, should be determined to face all odds and try to bring home to themselves the disastrous consequences of their attitude to modern education. The Appeal pointed out that though the Government of India had already made some efforts to find out the causes of Muslim apathy towards modern education, the results of those enquiries had not been useful because the Muslims themselves had not been consulted. It was, therefore, for the Muslims to investigate the true cause and to provide means by which they might be reconciled to the study of western arts and seiences. The Appeal suggested that a committee should be set up to collect voluntary contributions to a fund, and to invite essays upon the best means of effecting that reconciliation. As an

1. Iftikhar 'Alum, History of the Muhammadan College, P.19.

incentive to competition, prizes should be given to the best two essays. From among those who contributed, a Committee for the Better Diffusion of Knowledge among the Muslims should be founded.

The results of the appeal were most satisfactory. Important and influential personalities such as Nawab Kalb 'Ali Khān, ruler of Rampur, Kanwar Wazīr 'Alī Khān, ruler of Danpur, and Sir William Muir, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, showed great interest in the work of the Committee.[1]

Greatly encouraged by this quick response, Sir Syed proceeded on the 26th Decemeber 1870 to form the Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning among the Muhammadans of India already envisaged.[2] The Committee thereupon elected Sir Syed as its Secretary.

Sir Syed had been very careful to choose the members of the Committee from among those who were both enlightened in their views and men of influence in the countryside. So rapidly did the Committee expand that by the 15th April 1872, it consisted of no less than 128 men of rank and position. Its importance was so great that it included several ruling princes, wealthy landlords, Government officials, editors and a few representatives of Muslim states.[3]

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1. Hali, Hayat, vol.1.p.173.

2. For all the prompt response, an anecdote of Muhsin ul-Mulk shows that until the very last Sir Syed was doubtful of winning support for his ideas. Muhsin ul-Mulk lodged with Sir Syed the night before the first meeting of the Committee. At 2 A.M. he found Sir Syed pacing the verandah, weeping bitterly. " I was quite upset" wrote Muhsin ul Mulk," and enquired if he had received any bad news from home? Upon this he began to weep bitterly, At last he said, "Could there be any news worse than that the Muslims are declining and will decline still further?" Then he said, "The whole night has passed in suspense about whether the meeting of tomorrow will be of any use. I have no hope of that at all". See Hali, Hayat, vol.1.p.174.

3. See Appendix for the names and designations of the members of the

On the first day of its existence the Committee announced that three (not two) prizes would be given, of Rs.500, 300 and 150 for the three essays thought most worthy. The essays were to be written by Muslims[1] and in Urdu[2] and had to deal with the following three questions[3]:

1. Why the proportion of Muslim boys was less than that of the Hindus in Government schools and colleges?
2. What were the causes which led to the decline of the old Eastern learning?
3. Why the study of Modern Sciences was not introduced among Muslims?

At first the advertisement evoked no response. By April 1, 1871 only two essays--both failing to fulfil the conditions laid down in the advertisement--had been sent in. Therefore the prescribed date July 1, 1871 was extended to September 1, 1871[4]. This was good as this time, within the prescribed time, thirty two essays were sent in from different parts of India such as Bengal, Bombay, Hyderabad-Deccan, the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces, of which 23 fulfilled the required conditions[5]. Besides certain of Sir Syed's intimate friends who participated in the competition to make it a success, the contributors were mostly Government servants, teachers in

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1. Ishtihar Tin In'amon ka (A Notification for three Prizes), p.3.
2. ibid. p.4.
3. ibid. p.4.
4. Ruidad i Ijlas i Sadr Committee i Khastagaran i Taraqqi i Musalmanan (Proceedings of the meeting of the Head Committee of the Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning among the Muhammadans of India, also referred to as the Benares Committee), p.10.
5. Sir Syed, Report of the Members of the Select Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning among the Muhammadans of India, also referred to as the Benares Committee Report), Eng. tr. p.3.

schools and colleges, newspaper editors and so on, men who, though themselves educated in the old way, were aware of the needs of the day. Their contributions were judged by a Select Committee, which decided that the essay of Muhsin ul-Mulk was the best. But as he asked that his essay should be excluded from their consideration, the first, second and third prizes were eventually awarded on 15th February 1872 to Sayyid Ashraf 'Ali, a student of Benares College, to Maulvi Mushtāq Husain and to Maulvi 'Abdul Wadud.[1]

Sir Syed, as Secretary of the Committee, prepared in 1872 a comprehensive report on the results of the efforts of the Committee, which he published in several instalments in his journal. The Report, some times called the Benares Committee Report, gives a very useful summary of the substance of important writings on the problem of Muslims education and of the speeches of the different members of the Committee at its various meetings. This Report is also important document in so far as it contains the gist of Sir Syed's ideas on the education of the younger Muslim generation formulated in the light of fourteen years' experience of educational activities, and expounded more fully in several numbers of the Tahzib ul Akhlaq. It also contains the scheme of education which he had prepared in England, for their progress and regeneration. The Report was ready by May 1872 and was approved unanimously by the

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1. ibid. p.3.

Committee.[1] It therefore had the support of some of the most enlightened and influential Muslims of North India of that time.

It contains fully detailed and decisive answers to the three vital questions put to the competitors and referred to above. It is divided into three parts. Part one gives a brief account of the essay competition held, the number of essays submitted and the result of the competition.

Part two of the report is very important, for this contains the discussions of the Members of the Committee on each and every point put by the essayists on the different aspects of Muslim education, and the decisions of the Committee thereupon .

Part three contains the scheme of education submitted by Sir Syed.

In the second part of the Report the objections of the Muslims to the education imparted by the State and the causes of Muslim abstention from it are classified under the following headings:

The absence of religious instruction.

The effects of English education in producing disbelief in the Muslim faith.

The corruption of morals, politeness and courtesy.

The prejudices of the Muslims.

The faults of the Government system of education.

The habits and manners of the Muslims.

(In the Report, education in colleges and schools is discussed separately but here the distinction will not be made).

The first two objections were the most important of all. Almost

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1. ibid.p.3.

all the essayists mentioned them and almost all the members of the Committee commented upon them. Only Sir Syed disagreed in certain respects about the validity of the objections. He maintained that as far as higher education was concerned, Muslims never had had and did not have any particular religious motives in acquiring it. To them the sole object of higher education was to obtain posts in the government services and to qualify themselves to discharge the ordinary business of life,[1] -- that it qualified the students to read and understand all works on religion was purely incidental.[2] Nevertheless he agreed that, at the primary school stage, religious education was certainly necessary.[3] Or rather he held firmly that a wide spread of education among men and women was impossible without a mixture of religious education.[4] The importance of religious knowledge accepted, means to provide it were discussed. In the Committee there were Members "who were not averse to the introduction of religious education in Government colleges and schools ".[5] Sir Syed however, with certain other Members, persuaded the Committee to agree that the management of religious education should rest in the hands of Muslims themselves and that only they should see that arrangements for religious education were made. To this end they "might either establish Colleges for the education of their children where every branch of useful knowledge might be taught along with religion, or elementary

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1. ibid. p.6.
2. ibid. p.7.
3. ibid. p.30.
4. ibid. p.8; Tahzib ul-Akhlaq, (Magazine) vol.1, No.1,1870, p.10.
5. Sir Syed, Mazāmīn, p.158.

Schools for preliminary education including religious knowledge might be opened .... or schools .... might be opened merely for religious instruction[1]".

Discussing the second cause Sir Syed tried to point out the defects of the existing books on Islam. He remarked that the existing works on religion were not sufficient to prevent English education having an irreligious effect and suggested that a selected series of books on Islam should be prepared for students. On this point, however, he was obliged to give way to the zealous supporters of the merits of traditional works.[2]

The third cause given, namely the morally corrupting influence of the education imparted in Government schools, was rejected as untrue by the Members of the Committee, with very little dissension.[3]

Discussing different prejudices of the Muslims Sir Syed suggested that the Committee could not but regret some aspects of Muslim mentality (such as thinking that to read English was unlawful, or that there were no Muslim teachers in Government schools). On this point Sir Syed carried the Committee with him, but he did not insist that Muslims were wrong in all their attitudes or that they should abandon them all. Speaking of the desire of the Muslims to keep their children away from the company of those of lower classes Sir Syed remarked that it was even more shameful for that reason to keep children from receiving any education at all. The proper course for the well-to-do was other than

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1. Report.p.8; Tahzib ul-Akhlaq , vol. 1, No. 1, Dec. 1870, p.11.
2. Report p.12.
3. ibid. p.31.

that:"let them establish a Special College of the Children of the higher classes; let the tuition fees in that College be so high that the boys whom they call mean may not be able to enter them".[1]

Sir Syed believed in the filtration theory of education. It was his idea that the wealthy and the learned (in the Oriental sense) who had been the leaders of the Indian races for centuries should be educated first. And he did not approve of the practice of Government of opening village schools to the masses,still less of its appraent policy of positively encouraging only the lower orders. This was no judicious introduction of other elements from the lower classes,it was an overthrowing of the whole structure of society.

If the Muslims,by their particular requirements and prejudices, created some difficulties,defects in the educational system created other difficulties so important as to prevent many Muslims from using that system.Oriental languages were not properly taught and books containing matter hostile to Islam had been introduced in the Government schools and colleges.[2] But there were wider objections too -- to the use of Hindi in most of the Government schools as the medium of instruction,to inadequate staffing,to the general failure to adapt instruction to the national inclinations and capacities of the children,to a method of examination which did not secure a through knowledge of a subject, but did encourage cramming. Some

1. ibid.
2. As,for example,the History written by M. Kempson,itself a translation of Raja Siva Prasad's book,Aina i Tarikhnama which was largely based on Elphinstone's History. Objection was raised to its treatment of the Muslim rulers of India, on whose cruelty unbalanced stress was laid. ibid. p.22.

subjects were held to be superfluous --too much was attempted, too superficially. And the use of English in the teaching of the sciences only enhanced the difficulties of the pupils. The Committee concluded its report on this subject thus: "They were well assured of the fact that the virtues and good qualities bestowed upon man cannot be brought into use without the aid of sound knowledge acquired either through a thorough study of Arabic, English or Sanskrit .... It is not the Western Sciences or the Western languages, i.e. the English, which the Members disapprove of, but it is the defective education which they would inveigh against".[1] As for a remedy they remarked that it was very difficult to say anything. "As far as it is related to the Muhammadans it will be dwelt upon in the third part of the Report".[2] (In fact they could not find any alternative to that of taking the arrangement of their children's education into their own hands).

Having thus discussed the causes suggested for Muslim abstention from the English educational system, the Report went on to another topic, namely, the reasons for the decline of Eastern learning. Most of the essayists had suggested that the primary cause of such a decline was a lack of appreciation and patronage. During Muslim rule in India the sultans had supported learning, at times lavishly. Now with the downfall of their political power no such patronage and support existed. Another cause was said to be a want of the very means from which to acquire knowledge of and efficiency in Eastern Sciences, for

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1. ibid pp.23-4.
2. ibid., p.24.

many ancient libraries had been destroyed. The study of the Arabic and Persian languages, in which most Muslim literary and scientific works were written, had also declined, when they ceased to be the languages of government and administration.

Sir Syed, if with the essayists he accepted these facts, differed in the conclusions he drew from them. The old learning had died, but renewed patronage could not revive it because the old world that learning had served could not answer the requirements of the modern times.

As for such causes adduced by the essayists, as that the older sciences had been restricted amongst the people, or that Islām was opposed to such intellectual sciences as philosophy, logic or metaphysics, these were rejected by the Committee as untrue.[1]

Thus the Committee came by stages to its logical decision:

Some of the motives of the Muslims in not sending their children to the Government schools and colleges were ultimately unjustifiable but most of them were based on substantial grounds.

The Government system of education was inadequate both in general terms and in respect of its suitability for Muslims. No minor changes in the system could adapt it to serve Muslim needs.

But equally the old sciences were no longer needed.

Therefore the Muslims themselves should direct their attention to providing their own education, which should serve their new needs

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1. ibid. pp. 42-3.

in the modern world. They should start with a College for the higher classes.

Once this conclusion had been reached Sir Syed submitted to the Committee his proposed system of Muslim education.

He dwelt upon the purposes of national education, which, he said, were manifold. He asserted, before the Committee, that his scheme was a sincere attempt to consider "the means which, quite irrespective of the existing circumstances, might be of real use to Muhammadans in the future".[1] The Members of the Committee, he said, had therefore to "look forward to and inaugurate an educational system for future generations, and although such a system could not possibly be brought into working order all at once, they could consider the fabric as a whole and commence such portions of it as were at present feasible".[2] Further, he maintained, his scheme would enable them to inaugurate such a system of education as would embrace the various wants and requirements of the different classes of the Muslim community quite independent of Government, and yet enable the Muslim community, in years to come, to take advantage, where necessary, of the education provided by the State.

He intended, he continued, to do away with the faults[3] to be found in the curricula of the old Muslim institutes, and with the faults in teaching methods which had made them worse.

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1. ibid. p.53; Tahzib ul Akhlāq, vol.3, No.6.
2. Report p.53.
3. Sir Syed attacked the old system of education remorselessly and so created great resentment among the 'Ulamā' and general run of Muslims. He said: "Many schools regulated by the old system have

(contd.)

Thus in both system and curricula the new system would depart from traditional lines and would adopt western methods and western curricula[1]; primary religious teaching excluded. Then he presented the details of his scheme of education. He proposed that two different kinds of schools should be established by the Muslims.

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been established by the Muhammadans of Jounpore, Allygurh, Cawnpore, Saharanpore, Deoband, Delhi and Lahore, but he could assure the Committee that they are altogether useless to the nation at large, and that no good can be expected from them".

"The times, and the spirit of the age, the Sciences and the results of those Sciences, have all been altered. The old Muhammadan books and the tone of their writings do not teach the followers of Islām independence of thought, perspicuity, and simplicity; nor do they enable them to arrive at the truth of matters in general; on the contrary they deceive and teach men to veil their meaning, to embellish their speech with fine words, to describe things wrongly and in irrelevant terms, to flatter with false praise, to love in a state of bondage, to puff themselves up with pride, haughtiness, vanity, and self-conceit, to hate their fellow creatures to have no sympathy with them, to speak with exaggeration, to leave the history of the past uncertain, and to relate facts like tales and stories. All these things are quite unsuited to the present age and to the spirit of the time, and thus instead of doing any good they do much harm to the Muhammadans". ibid., p.55.

1. "Modern Sciences include three kinds of Sciences. The first comprising those that did not exist amongst the old Greeks and Muhammadans, but have recently become known, for instance Geology. The second class contains those which existed amongst the old Greeks and Muhammadans, but the principles on which they were founded have since been proved to be wrong, and new principles have been established in their stead, and thus the old and Modern sciences have nothing in common except the name. Under this category came Astronomy, Chemistry, etc. The third kind includes such Sciences which existed among the old Greeks and Muhammadans, but which have recently been so much improved that they now seem almost to be new; such as, Mechanics, which is here called Jari-Sukil, and Mathematics, i.e. Arithmetic, Euclid, etc." Ibid.

First there would be secondary schools based on western models but giving religious instruction as well as teaching the modern sciences, thus fulfilling both the secular and the religious needs of the Muslims. The second kind of school would be a very limited institution attached to the Government schools and colleges to give the religious instruction not provided there.

For all children there would be a general course of studies, in four sections:

I. Religion. This would include Fiqha (Muslim Jurisprudence); Hadith (traditions of the Prophet); Tafsir (commentaries on the Quran); Siyar (ecclesiastical histories); and general principles of religious belief.

II. Moral Sciences. This would include literature and language; history; geography; logid; Philosophy; politics and political economy.

III. Mathematics -- arthmetic; algebra; Euclidian geometry and other branches of mathematics.

IV. Natural Sciences. This would include statics; hydrostatics; dynamics; pneumatics; optics; electricity and magnetism; astronomy; heat; acoustics; natural philosophy, etc.[1]

In addition, there was to be a special course of study to include such subjects as engineering; physiology, zoology, botany, geology, mineralogy, chemistry, etc.

Sir Syed also proposed that some of these schools should be boarding-schools, with houses provided from the subscriptions and donations of wealthy Muslims. He also suggested that such boarding-schools should each have a mosque attached to them and that pupils

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1. ibid. pp. 57-58.

should be required to participate in daily prayers therein and that they should be taught to recite the Qur'ān every day. Each such institution should also have its own library, a common dining-room and a play-ground. The students should be encouraged to take an active part in debates, discussions, speech making, and similar activities. He made a strong plea that all who could afford to do so should send their children to such boarding-schools. It would be of the greatest value that the boys should be away from home and yet in the hands of those well qualified for the care of children.[1]

But to give immediate and practical shape to the whole educational scheme, Sir Syed proposed the early establishment of a large college, with sizeable residential accommodation, to which boys "of the rich and the noble"[2] from such schools should go. This would bear the title in English of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College and in Arabic of Madrasat ul-'Ulum. This College, he suggested, should be divided into three departments.

I. An English Department, in which the medium of instruction should be English, with Urdu, Persian, Arabic and Latin taught as second languages.

II. An Urdu Department, in which all subjects should be taught through the medium of Urdu, the contents of the text-books being the same as in the English Department but translated into Urdu, Arabic, Persian and English should be taught as second languages.

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1. ibid. p.59.
2. ibid. p.60.

III. An Arabic and Persian Department, for advanced studies for those students who had studied either of these languages as a second language previously.[1]

As regards any more precise details - of courses of study, text-books, and the mode of instruction - he suggested that the English Universities of Oxford and Cambridge should be followed as models.

To make the Government institutions for higher education more acceptable to the Muslims Sir Syed suggested that certain improvements and modifications of them should be demanded. The Government should be asked to raise the general standard of education to that of Oxford and Cambridge universities;[2] it should give more importance to the cultivation of the English language by establishing clubs and societies, under the supervision of teachers, where students should practise English speaking.[3] It should give more encouragement to Urdu and Persian and should establish Muslim Committees paid from municipal funds to make enquiries about the Muslims' reasons for attending or not attending Government institutions.[4] Sir Syed also suggested that a share in the management of Government primary (Tahsili or Halqabandi) schools should be demanded. But for the Muslims he thought that the best method would be to establish private schools accepting Government grant-in-aid.[5]

When the whole Report had been delivered it received the

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1. ibid., p.60.
2. ibid. p.69
3. ibid. p.69
4. ibid. pp. 69-70.
5. ibid. p.70.

approval of the Select Committee. Some members criticised the smallness of the element of religious education in the syllabus outlined by Sir Syed for a College of Muslim students. But for the total scheme of education there was whole-hearted approval. The Report was then submitted on 15th April 1872 by the Select Committee to its parent body, the 'Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning among Muhammadans of India', which approved the report. On the same day, 15th April, the Select Committee was wound up, and a new Committee, the M.A.O. College Fund Committee was founded.[1]

This Fund Committee prepared a brief set of by-laws and formed, mostly from its own members, four subordinate Committees to run the proposed College. Firstly, there was a committee to direct the teaching of languages and the secular sciences. Then there were two committees, one for Sunnis, another for Shi'as, to direct religious instruction. And lastly, there was a Managing Committee to manage the boarding-houses and to look after the boarders. The by-laws also set out rules to establish a permanent capital for the College from the funds collected by the Fund Committee. It decided that the money should be spent "in the purchase of Promissory Notes, or pensions held under grants in perpetuity as mentioned in Act XXIII of 1871, or a share or shares in the Bank of Bengal,, or perpetual Muafi tenure"[2], though the practice of buying promissory notes or shares of

1. Not all the members of the Committee were sanguine about the outcome of the fund-raising effort. Thus Maulvi Sayyid Farid ud Din, in a long Urdu letter, compared Sir Syed with a doctor who had successfully diagnosed the disease and prescribed the appropriate medicine but one beyond the purse of the patient. He urged a slower treatment and a simpler, cheaper remedy.
2. Rules for the Guidance and Management of the M.A.O.C.F.C. 1872 A.D. or 1289 Hijra. Selection from the Records of the Govt. of India Home Dept. No. CCV. Home Dept. Serial No. 2, p.195.

the bank was highly objectionable to orthodox Muslims. A little later, the Fund Committee was registered under the Act XXI of 1860[I] and set to work most regularly.

While the Committee, and sub-Committees, had been busy with their plans and discussions, attempting to improve upon previous

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I. Act 21 of 1860 Registration of Societies, pp. 56-63.
"The Acts of the Legislative Council of India of 1860 with an analytical abstract prefixed to Each Act and a Copious Index by William Theobald, Barrister-at-Law and Prothonotary of the Supreme Court, Calcutta, vol. IV, Calcutta 1861.

"Recites expediency of improving the legal condition of Societies for the promotion of literature, etc.
1. Empowers any seven persons associated for literary, scientific or charitable purpose to register and thereby become a Society under this Act.
2,3,4. Prescribes the memorandum to be registered; and (3) Registrar of Joint Stock Companies to certify the registration; and (4) a new list of names, etc., of the members, etc. to be filed annually.
5,6,7,8. Vests the property of the Society in the governing body for purpose of Proceedings Civil and Criminal; and (6) entitles Society to use and be used in the name of its President etc. and (7) no suit to abate by reason of change of officers; and (8) Judgement to be recovered or enforced only for or against the Society.
9. Gives a remedy at law for penalty under Bye-Law and empowers Societies to make Bye-Laws.
10. Empowers Societies to sue Members, and provides a remedy for defendant in case action fails.
11. Empowers Society to prosecute Members for criminal offences against the Society.
12,13,14. Empowers registered Society to alter its purposes, to amalgamate with other Society at special Meeting; and (13) to dissolve by resolution of Members, etc. but consent of Govt. necessary if Govt. be a member; and (14) on dissolution, its property to be applied in satisfaction of debts, and surplus given to some other Society, except in case of societies in nature of Joint Stock Companies.
15. Subscribers, if not in arrear, to be considered Members. (16) The governing body to be those appointed under the Rules (17.18) Entitles Societies for literary, etc. purposes registered under Act. XLIII 1850 and other such societies not registered to be registered under this Act; and (18) as to how such registration is to be effected. (19) Entitles any person to inspect all registered documents on payment of fee. (20) Names and describes the Societies which may avail themselves of the Act."

Government enquiries by that consultation with the Muslims which the Government had failed to ensure, the Government of India was itself moving again. On the 7th August 1871 a Resolution was passed, of the greatest importance, calling attention to the problem of Muslim education and suggesting lines of remedial action. The points of the Resolution were as follows:

"The condition of the Mohammadan population of India as regards education has of late been frequently pressed upon the attention of the Government of India. It is much to be regretted that so large and important a class, possessing a classical literature replete with works of profound learning and great value, and counting among its members a section specially devoted to the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge should stand aloof from active co-operation with our educational system and should lose the advantages, both material and social, which others enjoy. His Excellency in Council believes that secondary and higher education conveyed in the vernaculars and rendered more accessible than now, coupled with a more systematic encouragement and recognition of Arabic and Persian literature, would be not only acceptable to the Mohammadan community, but would enlist the sympathies of the more earnest and enlightened of its members on the side of education.

The Governor General in Council is desirous that further encouragement should be given to the classical and vernacular languages of the Mohammadans in all Government schools and colleges.

This need not involve any alterations in the subjects, but only in the media of instruction. In avowedly English schools established in Mohammadan districts, the appointment of qualified Mohammadan English teachers might, with advantage, be encouraged. As in vernacular schools, so in this class also, assistance might be given to Mohammadans by grants in aid to create schools of their own. Greater encouragement should also be given to the creation of a vernacular literature for the Mohammadans - a measure the importance of which has been specially urged upon the Government of India by Her Majesty's Secretary of State on more than one occasion.

His Excellency in Council desires to call the attention of Local Governments and Administrations to this subject, and directs that this Resolution be communicated to them, and to the three Universities in India, with a view to eliciting their opinions whether, without infringing the fundamental principles of our educational system, some general measures in regard to Mohammadan education might not be adopted, and whether more encouragement might not be given in the University course to Arabic and Persian literature".[1]

Accordingly the Resolution was sent to the Local Governments of Bengal, the Punjab, North-Western Provinces, Bombay and Madras, and to the three universities; and they immediately began to work in accordance with the new policy of the Government. In Madras

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1. Extracts from the Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Department. Ed. No. 300, date Simla 7th August 1871. paras.2,3. Selections from the Records of the Govt.of India,Home Dept. No.CCV. Ed. No. 2,p.152.

special provision was made for the teaching of Arabic and Persian and for the award of prizes for the encouragement of these languages.[1] In Bombay also Persian was introduced in the High Schools and the upper standards of Vernacular Schools to prepare students for University, where Arabic and Persian were already admitted as classical languages for graduates in Arts.[2] A Professor of Arabic and Persian was appointed at Elphinstone College.[3] At Calcutta the apathy was so great and the Muslims had fallen so far behind that it was "almost impossible to remedy it". However, arrangements were made to save money from the Hugly College-- a College mostly supported by a Muslim's endowment, and hitherto benefiting Hindus alone-- and to start two Madrassas for Muslims at Decca and Chittagang; while it was felt desirable to open a third Madrasa at Rajshahi or Dingapore.[4] The Government of the North-Western Provinces pointed out that it was already doing enough

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1. Extract from the Proceedings of the Govt. of Madras in the Ed. Dept., No.288, dated 7th Oct.1872, para.3, ibid.p.156.

2. Letter from the Govt. of Bombay, Ed.Dept. to the Govt. of India, Home Dept. No.371, dated March, 18, 1872, para, 3. ibid.p.158.

3. Letter from the D.P.I.Bombay to the Govt. of Bombay Ed.Dept. No. 2665, dated Sept.9, 1871, para.11, ibid.p.159.

4. Letter from the Govt. of Bengal, General Dept. to the Govt. of India Home Dept., No.2918, August 17, 1872, para.8., ibid.p.173.

for the cultivation of Persian and Arabic in the higher standard schools. It showed,however, readiness to start a Persian and Arabic Department in the proposed College at Allahabad upon the admission of these languages as subjects of examination for the Calcutta University degree.[1] The Registrar of the Punjab University attempted to show that the curriculum was suitable for Muslim students and agreed with the opinion of the Indian Members of the Senate that "there should be no change in the direction of encouraging the languages of the country at the expense of English".[2]

These active steps by the central and local governments to meet the Muslims' needs were a great inspiration to Sir Syed and the Fund Committee. And when,with added vigour,they had finished their Report,they sent a copy with a covering letter dated 14th June 1872, to the Government of India. In the letter they gave a brief account of the work and achievements of the Committee,and applied for a grant-in-aid for the proposed College. In more general terms, they appealed to Government for "every help in its power to the Mahomedans in this their praiseworthy endeavours,so that they may be encouraged to persevere with energy and accomplish with success what they have so well begun".[3]

1.Letter from the Govt.of N.W.P. to the Govt. of India, Home Dept. No.4559A. dated Oct.17,1871,para. .,ibid,pp.193-4.

2.Letter from the Punjab University to the Govt. of the Punjab No.180,July 8,1872,para.12.,ibid, pp.199-.

3.From Sec. to the Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning among Mahomedans of India,to Sec.to Govt.of the N.W.P. June,14,1872,Proceedings of the Govt.of the N.W.P. Ed.Dept. for the month of June 1873, p.66.

Copies of the Report were also sent to Government officials and such other influential persons as Sir Syed thought it useful to inform. It was very well received everywhere. The Government of India drew the attention of the Provincial Government to both the objections and the suggestions contained in the Report and directed them to take steps to meet them wherever possible. It also directed them to inform the Secretary of the Committee of what had so far been done by each Government to advance the education of the Muslims. The Local Government of the North-Western Provinces showed its readiness to help by directing the Director of Public Instruction "to take copies of the pamphlet for distribution among the Educational Officers and Educational Committees in these Provinces". As for the form in which its aid could be given, it suggested that "should the Society's efforts be successful in effecting the establishment of a Mahomedan College, on the projected footing -- that is, of imparting a liberal secular education, in addition to a religious education -- the aid of Government could best be afforded in respect of the former on the basis of the grant-in-aid rules".[1]

A letter written six months later, in April 1873, by the Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces shows that there, too, Sir Syed's scheme was supported. "The Lieutenant Governor would be glad to see Syed Ahmed Khan's scheme take effect, and also

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1. From Secretary to Govt. N.W.P. to the Director of P.Instruction (No. 2394 A) dated the 1st July 1872. Copy forwarded to the Select Committee for information in reply to his letter of 14th June, Proceedings of the Government for N.W.P. for the month of June 1873. Index No. 31, Progs. No. 12, dated July 6, 1872,p.72.

to see the Government assisting it by a grant-in-aid of the secular education which that enlightened philanthropist proposes to impart".[1]

The Government of India, for its part, wrote to the Government of the North-Western Provinces not only approving Sir Syed's scheme of establishing an Anglo-Oriental College for Muslims but expressing general appreciation of the motives behind it. The letter ran:

"Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 2396, dated the 1st ultimo, forwarding, with other papers, a copy of an able and valuable Report by the Select Committee for the better diffusion and advancement of learning among Mahomedans of India; and, in reply, to state that His Excellency the Governor General in Council has received with deep interest and much gratification the account contained therein of a scheme for the establishment of an Anglo-Oriental College for the education of Mohomedans, and he earnestly hopes that the scheme will meet with the success it so well deserves.

"This movement on the part of the Mohomedans of Upper India is entitled to every encouragement which the Government can give, and reflects the highest credit on Syed Ahmed Khan, Bahadoor, and those associated with him, for the attainment of such a laudable object".[2]

Letters such as these fired Sir Syed and his friends with new

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1. Colvin, Offg. Secy. to Govt. N.W.P. Home Dept. (No. 263 A) dated 18th April 1873, Proceeding June 1873, p.90.
2. From Officiating Secy. to the Govt. of India, to Secretary to the Govt. N.W.P. No. 339 dated 9th August 1872. Proceeding of the Government of the N.W.P. in the Edu. Dep. for the month of June 1873, p.72, No. of Index 33, Progs. No. 23, dated August 31, 1872.

courage and enthusiasm. The collection of the College Fund started in right earnest. In 1873 Lord Northbrook the Governor General promised to give Rs.10,000 for scholarships to encourage the study of the secular sciences. Sir William Muir, Lieutenant Governor of North-Western Provinces, donated Rs.1,000, and other considerable contributions came from various Indian princes.

Some of those who promised to contribute to the Funds did so, however, on the condition that their money should be spent only for the purchase of land for the College. Sir Syed, therefore, felt it necessary to state which place he had selected for the College. In July 1872, he had sought the opinion of the Muslims through his paper as to where the proposed College should be erected. He himself had already been struck with the suitability of Aligarh. It was "especially fortunate in its native gentry... Mahomedan families of wealth and position have lived there for centuries. And the younger members of these families were liberal and enlightened". It was also reputed for its good climate. "An almost uninterrupted sea of green and smiling cultivation", stated W.S. Caine in his Picturesque India,"and the roadways are avenues of nim mango, peepal, mowra, and other fine trees"[2]. Moreover Sir Syed found residing in Aligarh some of his most zealous associates and friends, like Maulvi Sami'ullah Khan, Raja Baqar 'Ali Khan and Kunwar Lutf 'Ali Khan. Again Maulvi Zaka ullah, another friend of Sir Syed, has asserted

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1. Kennedy, "Personal Reminiscences of Sir Syad Ahmad", Asia Quart. Review July, 1898, p.149.
2. Caine, Picturesque India, p.263.

that "because in that part of the country Maulvi Sami'ullah was well-known for his religious thoughts and pure beliefs people used to send their children to the school relying fully upon him".[1]

M.Kempson,the Director of Public Instruction,reporting on the progress of Sir Syed's scheme,reveals that Delhi,Agra,Lucknow and Allahabad were all suggested as suitable sites for the College, and he used the words "irrespective of public opinion" about the choice of Aligarh,[2] Kempson,however,was rather a prejudiced observer, and Iftikhar 'Alam reports that in the meeting held on 8th November 1872 the number of those who preferred Aligarh was greater than that of those who expressed a preference for any other place.[3] What is very likely,of course, is that those who voted for Aligarh were influenced by the knowledge that Sir Syed had set his heart on Aligarh.[4]

The choice was later explained by Sir Syed as having been based on certain guiding principles. First,the place should be one where the students should have as few temptations as possible, so that their minds instead of wandering astray,should improve. The college could not be opened,therefore,in any of the large towns,where temptations to evil were great. Nor was any

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1. Muhammad Zaka'ullah,Sawanih Umri Haji Muhammad Sami'ullah Khan, Bahadur(Life of Sami'ullah Khan),p.24.
2. M.Kempson,Proceedings of the Govt. of N.W.P. in the General Department,May 1873,p.22.
3. Iftikhar 'Alam,Muhammadan College History,p.26;.
4. Hali,Hayat,vol.1,p.176.

small village suitable, where the necessaries of life were hardly procurable. A town of medium size was needed. "I am glad", Sir Syed said, "that our requirements will be most conveniently fulfilled by fixing upon Aligarh as the site of the new College"[1] Climate was another consideration -- and that of Aligarh was much better than that of the alternatives suggested. Finally, there was the need to choose a centre where local support could be expected. That again ruled out a town like Delhi -- "a ruined city"[2]. As Hali commented, from impoverished, conservative Delhi there would have been little support for a novel scheme. Success there "would certainly have been as difficult as it was to plant Islam in Mecca in the time of the Prophet"[2].

In October 1872 Sayyid Mahmud, Sir Syed's son, returned from Cambridge and Lincoln's Inn a barrister-at-law. He had in hand a scheme not for a college but for a Muhammadan University modelled on the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. In the meeting of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College Fund Committee held on February 10, 1873, he introduced the scheme with the following words: "Before offering any remarks upon the scheme to be adopted at the proposed Institution, I may be allowed to bring to the notice of the Committee

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1. Sir Syed, quoted by Iftikhar 'Alam, op.cit., pp.25-6.
2. Sir Syed, "Shukriya I'anat i Akhbarat" (Thanks for the help from the Newspapers), A.I.G., Feb:19, 1875.
3. Hali, Hayat, vol.2.p.491.

a word which appears to be to have been used by mistake. This Committee calls itself "The M.A.O. College Fund Committee". I think what we mean to found is not a College, but a University, and I hope the members will consent to my proposal that instead of the word College, the word University may be substituted".[1] About the management of the institution he said: "I have to mention first of all that the management of this institution should be perfectly free from any control of the Government beyond mere supervision".[2]

The members of the Committee present agreed[3] and copies of the scheme (for general approval) were sent to all the members of the Committee and to the Local Governments. A copy of it was also sent to the Government of India requesting that, should it approve the scheme submitted, that approval would be taken "to entitle the Committee to the help which the Government has so liberally offered to render".[4]

At this stage Sir Syed tried to win the support of that most influential class in Muslim Society, the 'Ulama. On 24th May 1873 he published the scheme in the Aligarh Institute Gazette along with an Istifta (question) seeking from the 'Ulama a statement as to whether it was lawful to contribute towards the establishment of a

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1. Sayyid Mahmud, Scheme for the Proposed Muhammadan .... University. Enclosure to the letter from Govt.N.W.P. No. 186 A, dated 26th March 1873, Collection to Education Despatches, vol. 11.
2. ibid; Tahzib ul-Akhlaq (Magazine) vol. 3, No. 21, p.203 (1873).
3. Sir Syed published in his magazine the kind of University he intended to found. "We intend to make this school a Muslim University; and want to copy exactly the universities of Oxford and Cambridge which we have seen in London". Tahzib ul-Akhlaq (magazine) vol.3, No.20, p.120.
4. Sir Syed's letter to the Government N.W.P. dated 1st March 1873, enclosure to the above letter of the Govt. ibid.

College where education would be given on the lines suggested.

The work of the Benares Committee had already roused the suspicions of the more orthodox Muslims.[1] The publication of this direct question at once revealed how opposed were their attitudes to those of Sir Syed. Thus Maulvi Imdād ul'Alī, the Deputy Collector, Cawnpure, denouncing the publishers of the Benares question as deceitful, and the supporters of the M.A.O.College as non-Muslims, published a counter question. This ran: "What is your opinion(may your Excellence continue) regarding the legality of an institution established by a man who does not believe in the existence of an Evil One; who denies the bodily night-journey of the Prophet to heaven; who does not believe the story of Adam; who exhorts Mohammedans to follow English example; who maintains that all the religious learning in Mohammedan libraries is of no avail; and that it is necessary to have a college to teach modern philosophy? When the Mohammedans, feeling indignant, told him that his institution was a school to teach atheism and spread irreligion, and denied him any assistance, he wrote to them, saying, "I will not renounce my beliefs, nor will I cease inviting you to my assistance, but I promise to place the management of the institution in the hands of a committee." Now the committee so promised consists chiefly of men of his own persuasion, who often change their opinions, and their successors rescind the arrangements of their predecessors. Now, under the divine promise of reward in the next world, let me know whether it is reli-

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1. A new system of education was sure to tell upon the rights of the 'Ulama whose influence on education was predominant for centuries.

giously lawful for Mohammedans to aid this college or not."[1]

This counterblast of June 1873 was soon followed by the unanimous statement of the 'Ulama, both Shi'a and Sunni, of Delhi, Farangi Mahal (Lucknow), Rampur and Bhopal that it was unlawful to contribute towards the establishment of such a college, which would be rather a centre for the dissemination of mischief than a school.

This opposition of Maulvi Imdad ul'Ali was but herald to a wider storm of opposition. He was roundly condemned as one seeking to uproot the Muslim tradition and as a perverse intriguer seeking alliance with the infidels.[2] There was a variety of other charges. "Some spread the story that a statue of Syed Ahmed Khan and pictures of his collaborators would be kept in the school. (The representation of human form was, of course, repugnant to Muslims). Some said that books on the Faith of Nechar[3] (Nature) would be used there. Students would have to eat chicken not slaughtered in the Islamic way.[4] Some said that books on the Shia's faith would also be used as texts there and thus falsehood would be supported. Some said that to contribute towards the establishment of a college -- and to educate their children there---when its founder held such beliefs as he did, was unworthy of a Muslim. Some objected to the proposal that College money should be invested in Government funds (interest being illegal under Islamic law); still others objected to the English

1. Istifta (Question), quoted by Graham, Life, 2nd ed. p.139.
2. Bannerjea, India's Nation Builders, p.110.
3. Sir Syed on account of his belief in the Law of Nature was called by the Orthodox Muslims Nechari, one who worships Nature; they derived the term from the English word Nature.
4. Tahzib ul Akhlaq, 15 Jamadi ul Awwal 1290 A.H./1874, there is a letter quoted in full making all these statements about the College, p.70.

uniform of the college students. Some expressed their doubts as to whether this enthusiasm would not come to an end with Syed Ahmed Khan and whether after him any one would take his place. This last doubt was what disheartened even sensible people. All these objections were published in the press, and some vernacular papers regularly wrote against Sir Syed and the M.A.O. College. One or two articles against the College appeared in the English Indian Observer too."[1]

Sir Syed divided his opponents into seven kinds:

1. Wicked and mean people, who attribute all our efforts for the betterment of our people to selfishness, and think that whatever we do, we do to please the rulers and to deceive the Muslims.
2. Envious men, who think that Syed Ahmed has produced all the paraphernalia for turning himself into a demon, and living as one after his death.
3. Prejudiced Wahabis, who considered it unlawful to study English and to have any social contact with the British.
4. Selfish people, who are not aware of anything besides their sensual pleasures.
5. Petty editors, who think that they will sell a few extra copies if they publish such writings in their papers.
6. Silly people, who can not discriminate between any personal thoughts and national matters, and cannot understand our purpose.

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1. Hali, Hayat, vol. 1, pp. 178-9.

7. Simple Muslims, who are influenced by the first five kinds of people and are suspicious on account of their true religiosity".[1]

This opposition, followed as it was by a marked falling-off in the contributions, completely disheartened Sir Syed's friends. Indeed the opposition was so formidable that even those high officials of Government who were interested in the establishment of the College, became uneasy. On April 18, 1873, A. Colvin, the Offg. Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces, wrote to the Secretary to the Government of India: "But the success or failure of his (Sir Syed's) scheme will depend on whether he can overcome prejudice, and render the higher teaching of an Anglo-Vernacular course acceptable to his own people. There are not wanting indications in the native Press of a strong and growing opposition, and His Honour looks with some anxiety to the result".[2]

However, unexpected help came from the Panjab. The Panjab had been conquered by the British only in 1849. The Panjabi Muslims, oppressed under the Sikh rule, not only had no prejudice against the British but considered them as their liberators. They remained loyal to the Government even during the Mutiny and welcomed Western

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1. Tahzīb ul Akhlāq (Magazine), vol. 4, Safar 10, 1290 A.H.(1874), p.18
2. Letter No. 263 A, dated April 18, 1873, from A. Colvin to the Secretary to Govt. of India, Proceedings of the Govt. of N.W.P. Education Depart., June 1873, p.90.
   Some remarks of the Director of Public Instruction Kempson echo the fear of the Lieutenant Governor -- and with a touch of hostility too, perhaps: "The scheme itself is visionary in character, and the expected results can be realized but slowly if at all, for the principles advocated by the progress party are too far in advance of the average views of the class which it is intended to benefit". M. Kempson, D.P.I. to Govt. (No.4532) dated 25th March 1873. Proceedings of the Government of the N.W.P. in the general Department, May 1873, p.22.

ideas and sciences after it. Under the patronage of Dr. Leitner, they imbibed a love for modern knowledge. They had established in 1865 a society "with the two-fold object of reviving the study of ancient Oriental learning, and of diffusing useful knowledge through the medium of the vernacular"[1] and worked for it most enthusiastically. As a result, though very late to start, the Punjab was the first province to establish a University College in Northern India, in 1869. In 1873, when the opposition to Sir Syed became very formidable in the North-Western Provinces, one of Sir Syed's friends Chaudhari Barkat 'Ali Khan, supported the scheme of the M.A.O.College in a meeting of the society. He also proposed that the society should invite Sir Syed and his friends to visit the Punjab and to address the public about his scheme.[2] Upon his indication, the invitation from the society was sent to Sir Syed in July 1873. So, along with a group of ten friends, Sir Syed made a tour of many centres of the Muslim landed aristocracy of the Punjab. With the help of his English and of his influential Muslim friends he called great gatherings of Muslims, where he delivered very powerful and impressive speeches. It is said that the greatest means to Sir Syed's success were his speeches.

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1. Syed Mahmud, A History of English Education in India, p.90.
2. Safarnama i Punjab, p.235.
   Khan Bahadur Barkat 'Ali Khan had been Extra-Commissioner in Lahore and had great influence both with the public and with the officials. He met all the expenses of lodging and boarding of the deputation, and used his influence towards popularizing the scheme and collection of contributions.

"He was a born orator. His delivery, when he warmed to his subject, resembled that of Mr. Gladstone. His lips quivered with suppressed emotion; the voice and figure followed suit ... and these evidences of intense feeling communicated themselves with electric rapidity to his audience".[1] In his "Personal Reminiscences of Sir Syad Ahmad" J. Kennedy asserted that Sir Syed "could work up a native audience to the wildest enthusiasm".[2] "I have heared that on one occasion the Mahomedans of Hyderabad rose from their seats and dandled their swords, shouting before him".[3] Hali, who had attended many of his speeches, states that, though the many speeches, which Sir Syed delivered during his long public life, were remarkable on account of their eloquence, informativeness, coherence and inspiration, his speeches between 1873 and 1874 surpassed all others in every respect.[4] About Sir Syed's lecture at Lahore Hali states "If I am not mistaken this lecture, within two or three hours, exerted ten times the effect upon the Punjabis that the Tahzib ul-Akhlaq had achieved in three years".[5]

One reason why Sir Syed's speeches succeeded so remarkably lies in the fact that till the eighteen-seventies public speaking of this kind was quite unknown in Upper India. In Bengal, it had been long introduced and public speakers such as Surendra Nath Banerjea had become well known to the people, but in Northern India it was only

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1. Graham, Life, 2nd ed.,pp. 266-7.
2. Kennedy, Personal Reminiscences of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan", Asia. Quart. Jour., July 1898, third series, vol. VI, p.147.
3. ibid. fn. p.147.
4. Hali, Hayat, vol. 11, p.438.
5. ibid. p.431.

with Sir Syed that public speaking started.

Through such speeches Sir Syed evoked the warmest response in the Punjab. He thus turned the tide, which in the spring of 1873 had seemed to be flowing against him, once more in his favour. Contributions poured in, and hope revived. The speeches have, however, another interest: In them Sir Syed introduced many ideas hitherto foreign to the Muslims, such as the idea of nationality, liberty of opinion, and self-help.

He also introduced, more elaborately, his conception of "national education", which, he claimed, had hitherto been unknown to the Muslims.[1] "So far", he pointed out, "Education had been secured by Muslims for professional purposes, and had been limited to a certain class or classes. It had been considered as something pleasing to the soul, to be acquired at the expense of worldly comforts". But modern developments had completely changed the meaning and functions of education. "Education was not the putting into a person of something from outside. It was the releasing of the capabilities latent in a human being".[2] That release of capacities was helpful in all a man's activities - whether directed to earning money, or to the development of arts and skills.[3] No profession, in the present age, could be advantageously followed without education - not even trade. "Modern trade cannot prosper without a knowledge of arts and sciences. Education is not only,

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1. Speech at the Anjuman i Islamiya, Lahore, Dec.29, 1873, Muk.Maj., p.120.
2. Tahzib ul Akhlaq, vol.3, No.1, 1287 A.H. (1873), p.10.
3. Speech at Lahore, Dec.29, 1873, Muk.Maj. p.114.

necessary to keep complicated accounts and for the supervision of factories, but also to develop and to popularise their manufactures". He was sure that "if our nation learns all the sciences and arts, India still contains so much wealth and such resources as will suffice for several generations. But we do not utilize them on account of our ignorance".[1]

Agriculture, another source for the prosperity and progress of a country, he found no less dependent on the arts and sciences. "Now-a-days," he pointed out, "the cultivated area has been extended to such an extent that agriculture without the help of machines has become almost impossible.... If Indiana learn these sciences and arts the progress of agriculture, on account of the use of machinery, can only be imagined".[2]

The most despised and disliked method of earning a livelihood, that government service, he found open to every one on a competitive system. Education of a modern kind thus was indispensable for those seeking government positions.[3]

In his speeches, Sir Syed set out what levels of education he considered necessary in a successful society. There should be in the nation a considerable group, highly educated, which is expert in certain subjects. In this way, experts in all sciences should be represented, and their researches, thoughts and efforts should provide for progress in the arts and sciences and become a matter

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1. ibid.
2. ibid. p.115.
3. ibid.

of pride for the nation. Then there should be a very large group of people having an average education and able to appreciate the writings of competent writers and understand basic principles. Then comes the great mass of people with a low level of education. Some will perform duties which constantly require the use of reason and education; others, the manual labourers, should still be able to read the newspapers, works on religion, be able to write a letter and keep accounts. No nation educated to a standard lower than that outlined could either progress or win respect in the eyes of other nations. He aimed, in fact, at providing the education needed by an industrialized society.

But according to Sir Syed, this kind of national education could not be imparted to isolated individuals. "Unless the whole nation is educated to a certain extent, particular persons can not be educated, though they may learn a little more than the ignorant. By learning certain sciences one cannot become educated, unless there is a wide circle of educated fellow-beings to mix with. One or a few persons can never develop their genius, their morals, their inner virtues, their ideals, their energy and courage. There must be similar persons with whom to move, and to exchange ideas and arguments[1]". For such education, he felt the necessity of establishing a large central institution, capable of serving the whole nation. "In my defective opinion", he said, "those who are anxious to see

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1. Sir Syed, Speech, May 26th, 1873, Muk. Maj., pp.82-3.

their nation fully educated and civilized require to establish a source from which to provide all the requirements for education -- the services of able professors, books translated into Urdu etc. -- and then, when a great source of water has been tapped, branches should be taken out from it".[1]

Thus he introduced a new conception of a national education. But he did so in such a manner that the concept lost its strangeness. "It seemed as though he was reminding them of something forgotten".[2]

As a result of these efforts Sir Syed collected a large amount in subscriptions - much more, indeed, than he had ever expected to collect. His friends also through the various sub-committees collected a great deal. Hope that the College might soon be established rose again.

The question then arose whether, with the funds already available, some start might not be made at once. As early as February 10, 1873, Sayyid Mahmud had urged upon the College Fund Committee the advantage of establishing at Aligarh an all-purpose school, of the type earlier agreed upon, preparatory to the founding of the College. The Committee had at that time thought the moment inopportune. But on August 31st, 1873, Maulvī Sami 'ullāh Khan, Subordinate Judge, Aligarh, and Secretary of the Aligarh sub-committee, and Sayyid Mahmud again raised the same point. Maulvi Sami 'ullah Khan pressed upon the College Fund Committee that the

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1. Sir Syed, Speech, Dec. 27, 1873, Muk. Maj., p.156.
2. Hali, Hayat, vol. 2, p.431.

establishment of a subordinate school would be of the utmost help to the cause. He argued that in this school people would see with their own eyes that the methods of teaching and the curriculum were not against Islam, and then their opposition would automatically lessen.[1] The College Fund Committee, on financial grounds, was still reluctant to start the school at once. Sami 'ullah Khan therefore raised a Special Fund, himself contributing Rs. 1,000, and so got the approval of the Committee to start school classes.

The building in which Maulvi Sami 'ullah Khan managed to start the school, was an ordinary house. But on January 10, 1873, the M.A.O. College Fund Committee approved a group of proposals for a building programme.[2] (The school was ultimately to be housed in the College of which it was to be part). The two most important proposals were:

1. To obtain from the Government the plot where the troops in the old cantonment had used to parade, but which had long been in disuse.

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1. "In educational matters, the feud of the Muhammadan papers about the proposed Madrasat-ul-'Ulum, or as some would prefer to call it, Madrasah Muhammadia, was sustained with vehemence. At one time it seemed that a fusion of the contending parties had been brought about, but the publication in the Nur-ul-anwar of the original letter of the Nawab of Rampur, from which it appeared that his support of the scheme was qualified by conditions which its advocates had burked, caused further strife and bickering".
From D.P.I. to Secy. to Govt. N.W.P. No.(1213 G.) dated 23rd Feb. 1875, Index No. 1. Progress No. 5, date April 10, 1875. Proceedings Educational Dept. N.W.P. April 1875, p.17, Para. 6.
2. Iftikhar 'Alam, Muhammadan College History, p.26.

2. To allow the secretary to start the work of construction on this site, using funds to be specially raised for the purpose.

By March 1874 the secretary had succeeded in obtaining the approval of the Collector, Sir Henry Lawrence, for the allotment of the plot, but before the transfer had been completed, Lawrence was moved. Montague, who succeeded Lawrence, was also very soon transferred and his place was taken by A. Colvin. Neither of these officers agreed with the decision of Lawrence. Other European officers also raised objections, making the release of the land for the College a difficult task. "The opposition", asserts Hali, "was so formidable that the founders of the college began to lose their hope of ever obtaining the piece of land; and were about to give up the idea of the College".[1] But before anything so drastic had happened, Sir John Strachey was made the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces in 1874. He was a great friend of Sir Syed and he removed all the obstructions and allotted the land

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1. Hali, Hayat, vol.1, p.193.
Some seven years later the Committee made a reference to the opposition of the European officials in their address to Sir John Strachey on 11th Dec. 1880:
"But at one point of our efforts we felt that all we had succeeded in achieving would be lost in one blow. We had fallen out of sympathy with the local authorities of the district, our motives were misunderstood, our efforts were derided as ephemeral, we had failed to win that which in a country like India is the greatest source of encouragement, -- the good-will and sympathy of those who were the immediate representatives of Government in this district. That was a danger, the greatness of which can be understood only by those who are familiar with the conditions which govern the socio-political life of the natives of India. That was the most critical period in the history of the College."
Addresses wa Speeches, p.41.

to the Committee, though on two conditions: that before building, a plan be submitted to the Government for approval, and that, in case the College closed down, all the buildings constructed by the Committee should become the property of the Government.[1]

The main problem of land thus solved, Maulvī Samī 'ullāh Khān was requested to make other minor arrangements. There were a few adjoining bungalows and plots privately owned which the Committee wished to buy. By October 1874 he had managed to buy them all and it was possible to plan the transfer of the school from the small house in which he had started it to the newly acquired bungalows. On February 25th 1875, the M.A.O. College Fund Committee required him to submit a report on the staff and expenses required. He gave Rs. 998 as the sum which would be spent per month. On April 18th, 1875, the report was approved by the Fund Committee and a date was fixed for the opening of the school in its new premises.[2]

The official opening ceremony of the School took place on the 24th May 1875, the birthday of Queen Victoria, but teaching only began on the 1st June, when twenty students were admitted and some of the school classes were formed. Progress was rapid. By November 11th 1875, when Sir William Muir, Lieutenant Governor, North-Western Provinces, visited the school, it had already passed through its early stages and was well ahead on the way to prosperity. Not only were there no signs of enmity from orthodox Muslims, but it

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1. Iftikhar 'Alam, Muhammadan College History, p.21.
2. Sir Syed, Tarikhana Hālati Madrasat ul 'Ulūm (Historical account of the M.A.O.College) in Muk. Maj., pp. 403-405.

was in good working condition. Two departments, English and Urdu, had been established, and in the curricula of both departments, faithfully following Sir Syed's scheme, secular sciences were included. The Report of the Secretary laid before Sir William Muir read: "The scheme of curricula, as it is before Your Excellency, would show that a new system had been adopted even in the Oriental Department. That is, Arabic and Persian literature is the same (as in other indigenous schools), but along with English as the second language, European sciences through the medium of Urdu would also be taught".[1]

Besides the above subjects, arrangements were made for the teaching of religious knowledge of an elementary kind.

The College had also become a centre of great attraction for Muslim nobles, of whom His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, C.S.I., the Heart-Pleasing Son of the British Government[2] and Sir Salar Jang G.C.S.I., were the most outstanding. Both gave handsome subscriptions and Sir Salar Jang also consented to become one of the Visitors of the College. Of the local gentry, Raja Sayyid Baqar 'Ali Khan, Lutf 'Ali Khan and Inayatullah Khan besides others, were great helpers. The Report presented to the Lieutenant-Governor stressed the support the School was receiving from noble and influential families.

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1. Appendix A.I.G. No. 46, Nov. 12, 1875; Addresses and Speeches, p.3.
2. "My friend His Highness the Nawab of Rampur", said Sir J. Strachey in 1880, "has, by his liberal and sympathetic support, not only given proof of his interest in Mohamedan education, but he has thereby added in my opinion, fresh evidence of that loyalty to the British Government,.., by which his family has long been distinguished". Addresses and Speeches, p.46.

"Within this short period, which included the Ramazan vacation of one month, pupils from far-off places have taken their places in the school. It has chiefly attracted the children of the chiefs, respected people and the maulvis; Iftikhar ud-Dowla, son of Sahibzada Muhammad 'Ubaidullah, the uncle of the Nawab of Tonk, has sent his son and nephews to this school .... It will be right to say that in the North-Western Provinces this is the first school to which such highly respected persons have sent their children, of their own free will, without any sort of compulsion".

"Not less a cause of rejoicing is the fact that children of respected maulvi families of far off places such as Azamgarh have come to learn at this school. The boys of respected families of Delhi, of Meerut, and the children of the celebrated Maulvi Nasrullah Khan, are attending the institution".

"Admission has been sought by students hailing from many different districts. Sir Salar Jang also appears keen to send some boys of Hyderabad families for education here, but the Committee regrets that it cannot make arrangements for them on account of the shortage of accommodation".[1]

Sir William Muir, in reply, expressed his great satisfaction at the achievements of the Committee. The founders of the College, who already owed much to the British Government, were overjoyed to hear from Sir William Muir that the Viceroy, Lord Northbrook, had

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1. Appendix A.I.G.No. 46, Nov. 12, 1875; Addresses and Speeches, p.3.

consented to lay the foundation stone of the College.

On July 8th, 1876, a year after the opening of the school, Sir Syed retired and settled down permanently in Aligarh. Up till then, being a Government servant, he was rather constrained in his efforts at collecting contributions.[1] He now devoted himself to that task and within one year he was able to make all arrangements on a very grand scale for the College foundation stone ceremony, which took place on January 8th, 1877.

The foundation stone was laid by the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, and Sir Syed's educational enterprise, which had combined in itself three distinct objects, political, social and educational, assumed the tangible shape of an institution. This institution was destined to have a deep and far-reaching influence upon the future of the Muslim community. Sayyid Mahmud, who penned as well as read the address at the occasion, thus summed up the various objects of the College: ".... to educate them [the Indian Muslims] so that they may be able to appreciate these blessings [of the British Government]; to dispel those illusory traditions of the past which have hindered our progress; to remove those prejudices which have hitherto exercised a baneful influence on our race; to reconcile Oriental learning with Western literature and science; to inspire in the dreamy kinds of people of the East the practical energy which belongs to those of the West; to make the Mussulmans of India worthy and useful subjects of the British Crown; to inspire in them that loyalty which springs,

1. See Hali, Hayat, vol. 1, pp. 200-213.

not from servile submission to a foreign rule, but from genuine appreciation of the blessings of good government".[1]

The College already owed much to the British Government; now further help was promised by its highest authority. In reply Lord Lytton said: "There is no object which the Government of India has more closely at heart than that the plain principles of its rule should be thoroughly intelligible to all its subjects, from the highest to the humblest. But for my own part, I cannot anticipate the complete attainment of this object until the precepts of English policy have been translated, not only into vernacular forms of speech, but also into vernacular forms of thought. For such an undertaking it is obvious that a body of cultivated natives is better fitted than twice the number of English officials, or twenty times the number of European scholars; and I can truly say that those who succeed in such an undertaking will have thereby rendered not only to the Government, but also to all their countrymen, a service that cannot be too highly appreciated .... I welcome that success, not for your sake only, but for the sake of the whole empire".[2]

Thus the interests of both the Government and the Muslims were declared to be in agreement, and the M.A.O. College the means to achieve their common interests.

The College had also won the support of the Muslims of Bihar.

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1. Addresses and Speeches, pp. 31-32; Supplement A.I.G. with which is incorporated the Progress. Jan. 12, 1877,
2. A.I.G., Jan. 12, 1877.

(One obvious,particular reason was that the Urdu speaking Muslims of that province had seen Urdu replaced by Hindi as the official language of the province in 1869, and therefore looked to Aligarh as an Urdu centre). So after the foundation stone had been laid, it was Maulvi Shah Amanat ullah who cordially congratulated the Muslims upon the establishment of the College and delivered the following speech:

"On behalf of all the Muslims of the country I express my heartfelt pleasure at the foundation of the College. I am here as a representative of the Muslims of various districts to convey their thanks to Maulvi Syed Ahmed Khan Sahib, patron of the M.A.O. College. First, I thank God Almighty who adorned us with the robe of Islam and secondly Syed Ahmed Khan who, having looked at the ill condition of the Muslims, made up his mind to reform them. He decided that in such a tumultuous time the education and training of the Muslims should be given on sound lines so that they might attain respect in the eyes of their fellow beings, and might escape from worldly contempt. To-day is the lucky day when no man, in the whole of India, can compete with Syed Ahmed Khan for what he has done for the good of his nation. To-day is the day when the labours of this great gentleman have borne their first fruit. Therefore your humble servant Muhammad Amanat ullah has come on behalf of the Muslims of all his district and of the districts of Azumgarh,

Mirzapur, Shahabad, Patna, Saran, Muzaffarpur, Sahibnagar, Mongyr, Bhagalpur to thank him for this evidence of his sympathy with his people[1]".

In the evening, Muhammad Lutf 'Ali Khan, President, and Raja Baqar 'Ali Khan, Vice President of the College Fund Committee, gave a grand dinner to some forty European officials, and twenty Indian chiefs, on behalf of the Committee. After dinner, speeches were delivered and toasts were proposed and drunk to the "Empress of India and the prosperity of the British rule in India, to the health of the founder and the guests and to the success of the M.A.O. College." Replying to the speech made by Mr. Keene proposing a toast to his health, Sir Syed threw more light on the purposes of the College. He said: "Ever since I first began to think of social questions in British India, it struck me with peculiar force that there was a want of genuine sympathy and community of feeling between the two races whom Providence has placed in such close relation in this country. For a whole century and more, you, gentlemen, have lived in the same country in which we have lived; you have breathed the same air, you have drunk the same water, you have lived upon the same crops as have given nourishment to millions of your Indian fellow-subjects. Yet the absence of social intercourse, which is implied by the word friendship, between the English and the natives of this country, has been most deplorable.

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1. Addresses and Speeches, p.33. Most of the districts mentioned are in Bihar.

And whenever I have considered the causes, I have invariably come to the conclusion that the absence of community of feeling between the two races was due to the absence of the community of ideas and community of interests. And gentlemen I felt equally certain that so long as this state of things continued, the Mussulmans of India could make no progress under the English rule".[1]

Foundation Day was a moment of triumph for Sir Syed, he was host to the Viceroy, and his efforts were publicly acclaimed. But the scheme for Aligarh, as he had originally envisaged it, had not been fulfilled in one important respect; Aligarh was still a College and not, as Sir Syed wished and his son proposed, a University.

It has been seen that in 1873 the scheme, prepared and submitted by Sayyid Mahmud and sent to the Government for approval, was for a University. The Government, though interested in and ready to support the progress of the Muslims, did not like the idea of a sectarian University. On the 24th June of the same year, therefore, the Secretary to the Government of India informed Sir Syed that "it would be contrary to the principles upon which the Government of India shape their policy of public instruction to give any encouragement to a project for constituting a Mahomedan University, or to leave room for any expectation that a scheme for a sectarian University might eventually receive aid or status from Government.

"I am to observe further, that the independence of Government

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1. Sir Syed, Speech at Public Dinner in Honour of the Foundation Stone of the M.A.O.C., from the Pioneer, quoted in the A.I.G., Jan. 19, 1877.

control suggested in the first paragraph of Sayyid Mahmud's scheme cannot of course be accepted as meaning any greater independence of Government control than other aided institutions enjoy"[1].

As Sir Syed attached great importance to the idea of a University as an effective means to achieve his aims, he replied by attempting to secure at least the designation, if not the autonomous status, of a university for his College. He therefore assured the Government that the proposal to found a University did not aim at the establishment of an autonomous institution with full power to confer degrees, nor did the desire to keep the institution free from Government control exceed the bounds implicit in the statement of Lord Northbrook. (On the 12th March, 1872 Lord Northbrook had said at Calcutta University convocation, " It would be very agreeable to my feelings and principles that high English Education should be placed in the hands of an institution unconnected with Government")[2]. Sir Syed stated that rather his aim was that Aligarh should be a centre where examinations should be held and conducted according to the rules of Calcutta University, and a centre to which other schools and colleges might be affiliated. It was for these reasons that it was proposed that a name superior to that of a College should be addpted. But not to appear to press

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1. Letter from the Govt. of India to the Govt. of N.W.P. Hdated 24th June 1873, No. 269, Home Dept. Collection to Educational Despatches vol. 14. from 1872-76.

2. University of Calcutta Convocation Addresses, vol. 1. 1858-79. p. 285.

his point too far,he declared:"Should the Government still object to the use of the term'University',Mr.Mahmood is prepared to withdraw his proposal".[1]

The Government,however,resolved to stick to its previous policy and desired that the designation should be withdrawn.The word University was accordingly dropped from the name of the College.

One hope of Sir Syed had thus to be abandoned -- that of creating a university for the Muslims on the model of Oxford and Cambridge,complete with its system of fellows. The fellows would have fostered scholarship and research. The students filled with progressive ideas and living knowledge,would have propagated that scholarship and that regeneration wherever they went. But he realized the practical necessity of moving with the Government. Parents would not send their children to an institution which could not prepare them for government service. Nor could the Muslim community,impoverished and only half awake to the future value of his venture, be expected to finance a University from its own resources.[2] Government financial help was needed,and in considerable amounts,for the College was planned and constructed on the grand scale.

Indeed,even after the laying of the foundation stone, the collection of funds remained the most strenuous work. Sir Syed

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1. Sir Syed's letter to the Secretary to the Govt.of India dated 24th July 1873,attached with the letter from the Secretary to Govt.N.W.P.dated 25th August 1873 No.533 A of 1873,Collection to Educational Despatches vol. 14.
2. In 1883 Sir Syed confessed that he had once toyed with the idea of acting without Government financial help.

continued to play a major part in this, cajoling from the wealthy who did not like spending money on education, and from the orthodox, who did not like spending it on western education, sums which in total amounted to hundreds of thousands of rupees. If official government support helped to bring in those anxious to stand well with Government, Sir Syed's own devotedness, perseverance, common sense and honesty brought in many more. Not only did he set an example, by himself donating large sums of money; he also appealed to the whole range of sentiments of the people to excite their charity and generosity. To excite in peoples' minds a belief in the future political importance of the College, he enlisted the support of the Government and of Muslim and Hindu rulers. The great economic and social benefit that the College promised to the community brought in the help and support of all broad-minded and educated people. Moreover, the impressive nature of the College buildings became the object of general interest and of communal pride. Sir Syed had the names of contributors inscribed on that building[1] or part of a building to the construction of which they had contributed. Great halls he divided into blocks so that every block might bear the name of the person who had paid for its construction. He did not hesitate even to adopt purely Western and un-Islamic methods of collecting money such as the 1876 lottery which produced

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1. The sums subscribed were also engraved with the donor's name. It should be noted that Sir Syed most vigorously opposed all suggestions of erecting any building as his memorial. Indeed, he opposed all suggestions of this kind. For instance he refused to allow the College to be called Ahmadiya College or Founder's days to be celebrated. Hali, Hayat, vol.1.p.219.

a clear twenty thousand rupees for the College. At a Government exhibition in Aligarh he had a book-stall and himself sold books. He arranged for a theatrical performance and with his friends and College staff took part in it and raised money for student scholarships. He travelled to far-off places to collect money, such as Hyderabad-Deccan, Lahore, Allahabad, Patna, and the Punjab. He even asked his friends, instead of giving parties in his honour, to donate the money they would have spent to the College fund. Everything, his time, his money, his influence - which was not small -- he put to the service of the College. He abandoned his old habit of helping the needy and the poor, or contributing towards the construction of mosques etc.[1] Sometimes his relatives and friends were annoyed with him but he did not care for anybody's likes and dislikes. The result was that the construction of many grand buildings was completed and the expenses of a large European staff were all safely met.

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1. On March 9, 1886, W. Raleigh, afterwards Sir Walter Raleigh, who was on the College staff (writing to his mother) related an interesting incident about Sir Syed. He wrote: "The old Syed has taken to attending College Prayers, which has created a great stir for he was always reported to be an infidel. One of the members of Committee has offered him 1 rupee for every attendance, so he says he can earn enough for a scholarship for one of the boys. He is anxious to sell all his past as well as all his future prayers, the price he asks for these first is 4 annas or 4½d. The orthodox Mahomedans with that charming generosity of imputation which distinguishes the orthodox in every country say that he is approaching his end, and is afflicted by fear". The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh 1879-1922, letter to his mother, March 9, 1886, ed. by Lady Raleigh, vol. 1, p.53.

From the first the education given in the new college followed the lines suggested by Sir Syed in the Benares days. Following the original scheme two departments were set up -- an English department in which the Calcutta University course was adopted, and an Oriental department in which Persian and Arabic literature were taught, and Eastern and modern sciences through the medium of Urdu - English becoming the compulsory second language. It had always been Sir Syed's opinion that unless the Western sciences were taught through Urdu a real diffusion of knowledge was impossible. Sayyid Mahmud, his son, who had prepared the scheme of education, considered higher study in the Eastern sciences, along with European sciences to be indispensable for the Muslims, who ought by no means to ignore their own traditions. The foundation of the Oriental department of the M.A.O. College resulted from the fusion of these two aims.

While in England, Sir Syed had prepared, in consultation with the professors of the different English Universities, a list consisting of 231 works on different branches of knowledge which were suitable for translation into Urdu. Returning home he published this list in his Gazette in 1870. On 31st July 1871, while he was still busy with the preliminary arrangements for the establishment of a College, he had got the Benares Committee to appoint a Select Committee "to collect, on loan, as far as possible, all the books originally composed in, or translated into Urdu, whether

manuscripts or printed copies, in order to ascertain how many books of the various arts and sciences are at present procurable in Urdu"[1]. The Select Committee was also to choose books fit to be introduced in schools and college for all the grades and to prepare a list of those books which were urgently required. The curriculum which the Committee was asked to prepare was to be in accordance with the curricula of London and of Cambridge[2].

The Government with its recent inclination to help the Muslims in their effort to spread education among themselves at once took notice of the list published in the Aligarh Institute Gazette and passed on Dec.14,1872, a resolution which called the attention of the various officials and governments to the list, the contents of which it approved and desired to see translated. The resolution,which was quoted in the Annual Report of the Society[3] presented to Sir John Strachey,Lieutenant Governor North-Western Provinces in 1875,was as follows:

"In the Allyghur Institute Gazettee of the 14th October 1870 was published a list of English standard works on the Physical Sciences,Biology,Geology,the Mental Sciences,History and Geography, which were considered suitable for translation into the vernacular languages of India for educational purposes. It was deemed advisable to enquire and ascertain whether any, and if so,

1. Notice,31 July 1871, Published under the resolution of the Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Education among the Mahomedans of India.pp.9-10.
2. ibid.p.10.
3. The Aligarh Scientific Society.

which of the books enumerated therein had already been translated into Urdu,Hindi or Bengali. Copies of the list were accordingly sent demi-officially directed to the Calcutta School Books and Vernacular Literature Society,the Bengali Translater to Government, and the Director of Public Instruction North Western Provinces with a request for the desired information.

"It appears from the replies received to these inquiries that little or nothing has been done in the way of translating the works mentioned in the list,especially into Bengali, Hindi, and Ooryah. What has been done in Urdu has been chiefly effected through the instrumentality of the Allygurh Institute. The series of mathematical works published by Moonshee Zaka Oollah of Delhi, which is highly spoken of the Director of public Instruction North-Western Provinces is believed to have been commenced at the request and with the assistance of the Allygurh Institute ...The Governor General in Council is of opinion that,with the encouragement and assistance at Government,some means may be devised for further stimulating the production fo similar works. The Government of India will be prepared to encourage and acknowledge the efforts of private individuals by the grant of pecuniary aid and the bestowal of honorary distinctions if advised so to do by his Honour the Lieutenant Governor,after full consideration of the subject and consultation with the bodies under whose auspices the works shall have been undertaken."[1]

1. From Govt.of India,Home Dept. to Govt.N.W.P.No.477.dated Dec:14, 1872,Proceedings of the Govt.of N.W.P.Ed.Dept.June,1873,p.49. Sir Syed counted this resolution as one of his achievements.

The work of translation effected by the Scientific Society, Aligarh, which was thus praised, had begun in 1863. By 1875, the date of the Resolution, 27 English works had been translated into Urdu and published.

Despite the fact that the College was to adopt the Calcutta University course - contrary to the wishes of the founder -- it distinguished itself in many points from other colleges. This was most obvious in the arrangement for religious teaching. All Muslim students, whether Sunni or Shia, attended obligatory classes in their respective religious beliefs up to a certain standard. A special series of text books for religious teaching for all classes was prepared under the auspices of the Committee for religious instruction.[1] The first period of every working day was devoted to religious teaching. This included Sundays when for its European staff the College was closed. On Fridays there was a sermon after the midday prayers. Attendance was registered at these daily prayers. For boarders even stricter demands of religious observance were laid -- thus in Ramazan all boarders had to fast unless there was a reasonable excuse for not doing so. These arrangements

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1. See letter from Sir Syed to the seven members of the Committee for Religious Instruction dated Feb. 19, 1875, on the considerations which they should keep in mind in the preparation of the series. A.I.G. p.128. The seven members of the Committee were: Maulvi Inayatullah Khan, Rais of Bhikampur; Maulvi Mas'ud 'Ali Khan, Rais of Danpur; Sayyid Fazal Haq, Rais of Aligarh; Maulvi Sami'ullah Khan, Rais of Delhi; Maulvi 'Abdul Shakur, Rais of Aligarh and Maulvi Isma'il Khan. These Maulvis were selected in a great meeting of the Muslims held on 7th Jan., 1875. See also Maqalat i Shibli, Part 3, p.13.

were imposed to make the students form a regular habit of prayers and primary ritual which Sir Syed regarded as a distinct feature of the Muslims.[1] More stress, however, was laid on the principles of morals than on details of ritual. These principles were outlined as follows by the Trustees: "In our religious instruction we teach our students that the essentials of religion are to help those related to us; to show compassion and kindness to all the creatures of God; to cultivate gentleness, modesty, and courtesy; and to curb anger and pride. Then we teach what are our duties towards God; the duties of one Mahomedan towards another, and of a man to his neighbour whatever his religion; the duties of children towards their father, and of the young towards the old; and our right behaviour towards the other nations with whom we live. We teach them the excellence of truth, and its various kinds -- truth of the heart, truth of the tongue, truth of our intentions, truth to our promise, and truth in our actions. The books of religious instruction .... are full of instruction on these subjects".[2]

There is no doubt that Sir Syed had intended to propagate his own advanced religious views by a careful selection of religious texts, but after experiencing the formidable opposition of the 'Ulema he thought it better to leave the arrangement of religious

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1. Khutut, letter to Munshi Hafiz Sa'id Ahmad, dated June 5, 1893, 2nd ed., p.173.
2. Addresses and Speeches, address to Auckland Colvin dated March 10, 1888, p.116.

teaching in the hands of a Committee from which he was excluded. His writings on religious topics, even the Tahzib, were not allowed to enter the College. (The result of this neglect will be discussed later). Sir Syed had also intended to promote research in philosophy and religion by setting aside five of the thirty fellowships for such subjects. But the system of Fellows never materialised.

What Sir Syed had aimed at was to make religion a living force in the formation of student character. He had studied at Oxford the methods adopted to give a leaven of Christianity to the life of the under-graduates. He had found that a knowledge of the Bible and of the history of the Christian faith was no doubt demanded, but real dependence was upon the Chapel, and still more upon the moral influence of Christian Deans and Masters, who were generally ordained clergymen. Sir Syed, by substituting the Mosque for the Chapel and the Quran for the Bible and creating an office of Dean in the College to be filled up by a pious Muslim hoped similarly to preserve religion as a national mark of the Muslims.[1] By this arrangement he also had hoped to lessen petty differences among the various sects of Muslims. The Sunnis and Shi'as had to pray side by side, in their own way but in the same mosque. It was not his intention, however, to lay much stress upon dogmatics or to stuff his students with theology which might well narrow the outlook, or

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1. Mahomed 'Ali, The Proposed Mahomedan University, p.29.

sharpen sectarian differences.

Besides religious teaching, what distinguished the College from all other Government and private institutions for higher education in India was its residential system and its extensive use of a European staff. The students as well as the staff were supposed to live on the premises of the College. In the beginning there was no boarding-house and the few students, who had been admitted, were accommodated in a few rooms of one of the bungalows, but soon the new buildings were constructed, the students' numbers increased, and gradually boarding life began to become fuller. Following the example of English public schools, the "boarding-house system had been brought almost to perfection".[1] The attempt was made to create a model social life in the boarding-houses in which the students might learn the morals and manners of modern society, and equip themselves to make the most of the world outside the College.

Sir Syed's hopes of the M.A.O. College as he planned may be best conveyed by a statement of Mr. Beck:[2]

"Here the students would not only be under that reasonable discipline so necessary in youth, but the concourse of so many active and eager minds, interested in all sorts of subjects, would in itself be one of the most important factors in education. The Professors, Indian and English, would also live within the University precincts in constant intercourse with the students, and

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1. Report on Public Instruction in the N.W.P. & Oudh for the year ending 31st March 1881, p.8.
2. Theodore Beck (1859-1899) educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; appointed Principal of the M.A.O.College when he was only 24; was devoted to his work and in warm sympathy with the Muslims; died at Simla, Sep.2, 1899.

the University would thus form a little world of its own, the intense intellectual life of which it is difficult to explain to any who have not experienced such a life. Daily intercourse between the students themselves, common interests, common pursuits, studies, sports, conversation, meals, awaken a keenness of fellowship and of intellectual life that nothing else can do. In little such a life exists now in the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, as many of its past and present students will testify. Our object is to extend, develop and perfect this life. The concourse of a large body of professors and a great number of students would stimulate intellectual life, the ideas of the students would be widened, and their character strengthened. The men would be turned out more capable in every respect. The place would acquire powerful traditions, and the hundred influences to which the student would be subjected would place on his mind a permanent stamp. Learning would find a home. Great scholars would arise and reside in the University, and the place would be the most distinguished seat of Mohamedan learning in the world. Students would flock in from all quarters, and an enormous impetus would be given to Mohamedan education. I believe that such a University would accomplish nothing short of the regeneration of the Indian Mohamedans.

"As a Muslim they should be brought up to remain true to their religion, should love their nation and be respected in the eyes of

their family and country. They should think in terms of national sympathy and national progress,and should be keen to do good to their brethren and enthusiastic towards raising the national prestige. In brief, the motive of high education and good training is that there should be prepared a group of men among the Muslims who should be Muslims as well as human beings. Their minds should be filled up with academic thoughts and their heatts with those of good morality. They should enjoy good habits, endurance, self-respect,thoughtfulness, modest liberty and bold consistence of mind. So that when they come before the world they should be competent to serve their selves their family and their government. They should be able descendants of their famous forefathers and trust-worthy counsellors of their independent government"[1]

How completely foreign were the most ordinary ways of modern western society to the nineteenth-century Indian Muslims can be estimated from the rules and regulations of the boarding-houses that it was necessary to lay down.It was laid down, for instance, in one of the regulations that the boarding-house should be so constructed as to provide a separate bed-room, sitting-room and a toilet for every student.[2] Rule 25 ran: "Times for eating,sleeping, reading and physical training will be fixed and all boarders will be expected to follow them"[3] Rule 29 stated that boarders would be

1. Muhsin ul Mulk, quoted by Tufail Ahmad,Muhammadan College Directory,p.27.
2. Sir Syed Tariqa i Intizam wa Silsila i Tarbiyat p.28.
3. ibid. p.30.

expected to keep their rooms tidy and clean. Books, reading equipment and clothes might not be left scattered,[1] etc.

Equally important were the precautions observed in the framing of the rules of the M.A.O College so as not to offend the religious susceptibilities of orthodox society. Rule 27 laid down that games not religiously prohibited and times for walks and outings would be arranged.[2] Rule 39 ran,"Arrangement will be made to obtain the medical services of both a doctor and a Hakim,and in case of accident or illness, students will be treated according to the advice of their guardians obtained at the time of their admission."[3]

Concious efforts were made to wean the students from Eastern manners,or at least from cheap Eastern fashions. All boarders were to dress decently. If they chose the eastern style, then uniform was to consist of coat, trousers and fez. "Ill-shaped,laced or dyed clothes,or dresses made of very thin and transparent material, or very tight and close-cut" were banned.[4] No student was allowed to have long curls,to use dentifrice to blacken the teeth,to use henna to redden the palms or to wear more than one ring.[5] All students were asked to keep their dress white and clean. All boarders were taught western manners and etiquette. The boarders had to take their

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1. ibid p. 30.
2. ibid p. 30.
3. ibid p. 33.
4. ibid p. 29. All these were typical of Lucknow fashion.
5. ibid.p. 29.

food at table in the College dining hall,[1] under the supervision, and in the company of the European staff. College uniform, though not compulsory in the beginning, came to be worn by all the boarders. They had to play cricket[2] and football under the supervision of English staff members. Both the games were unknown in the East and people used to think that it was no good to waste time in playing.[3] In 1878, when the first cricket eleven was formed in India in the M.A.O.College[4], Sir Syed himself became its patron and encouraged it. Football was introduced in 1888. In the boarding- house there were many societies, mostly formed on the models of the societies at Cambridge University and English public schools to develop the mental faculties of the boarders. On August 26, 1884, the Siddons Union Club was established.[5] The aims of this Club were, in a way, those of the M.A.O.College. "In this Club

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1. Iftikhar 'Alam, Muhammadan College History, p.144.
2. The cricket uniform consisted of "blue flannel coat, shirt, knicker-bockers and cap". A.I.G., Feb.16, 1878.
3. Iftikhar 'Alam, op.cit., p.181.
4. The beginning of the Cricket Club is thus described in the Aligarh Institute Gazette: " The M.A.O.College Cricket Club was established on 9th February 1878. The Hon'ble Syed Ahmad Khan Bahadur, C.S.I. was made the Patron, and Pandit Rama Shankra Misra, M.A., Professor of Mathematics the Captain of the Club. Each member had to pay an entrance fee and to make for himself a uniform. At present there are about 20 members in the Club who play regularly. H.G.I. Siddons, Esqn., the Principal of the College, takes a very great interest in the game and has paid the munificent subscription of Rs.60 to the Club". A.I.G. Feb.16, 1878. Iftikhar 'Alam writes in 1901, "Within 22 years the College Eleven played 600 matches and won 550 of these". Iftikhar 'Alam, op.cit., p.182.
5. Iftikhar 'Alam, op.cit., p.180.

political and social problems used to be discussed and boarders were taught the art of speaking"[1]. Connected with this Club there were a library and a reading room. At an annual competition the best speaker was awarded "the Cambridge Speaking Prize"[2]. (Harold Cox, a professor at the College,had introduced this competition and made all arrangements for it). In its management and procedures the Club followed the Cambridge Union to which it was affiliated.

From English public schools again,the idea of the penny reading was borrowed. The aim was to provide an incitement to the students to improve their English. At the appointed day, at a gathering of staff and students,participants used to read poems or passages of prose with all possible fluency and accuracy of pronunciation[3]. A similar society,the Lujnat ul Adab (Literary Society)[4],was formed under the Professor for Arabic,Maulvi Shibli, to improve the students' Arabic. This Society ceased to exist when, in 1898,after the death of Sir Syed, Maulvi Shibli left the College.

Other societies were formed to create a public spirit among the boarders. Thus the Anjuman ul Farz (The Duty Association) was founded in 1890[5] to collect funds for scholarships for poor students

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1. ibid. p. 150.
2. ibid. p. 151
3. ibid. p. 166.
4. Shibli Nu'mani(1857-1914)born in Azam Garh District;a famous historian and literary man;Professor of Persian and Arabic at the M.A.O.College 1882-98;opposed the movement of Sir Syed in many phases,after his death.

and to help to remove the existing prejudices among the Muslims against the College. The members of this society, who were called "Khadim ul Farz" (Servants of Duty), used to go out collecting during their holidays. Within a couple of years they had collected some Rs. 1,500, of which Rs. 1000 were invested for scholarships. As the authorities pointed out to Sir Auckland Colvin, the society not only proved financially helpful, but "by the methods it adopts, trains its members in a variety of ways of working purposefully".[1] The influence of this Society in stimulating patriotic sentiments among the students and in encouraging public spirit was tremendous. In 1903 Theodore Morison, Principal of the M.A.O. College, wrote: "The Duty has since developed enormously; it has an invested capital of Rs. 31,841 in all, it sends deputations of students to every province of India and during the last annual vacation collected as much as Rs. 18,156 and the bulk of the work now, as then, is done voluntarily by the students themselves".[2]

In 1892 another society with similar purposes was established. It was called the Brotherhood.[3] Its object was to realize from every student, after he had left the College, one percent of his income.

Aligarh students, on account of their western manners and taste, soon became acceptable in European society in India. In 1884, for the first time, the College Eleven was invited to lunch with the European officers of the district. The lady who entertained the

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1. Addresses and Speeches, Address given to Sir Auckland Colvin on Oct. 23, 1892, p.166.
2. Morison, The History of the M.A.O. College at Aligarh, p.13.
3. Iftikhar 'Alam, op. cit., p.168.

students was Mrs. Aikman. To commemorate this significant occasion Sir Syed made a short speech and announced that a gold medal called after the lady would ever after be given to the best cricketer in the College.[1]

The life in Aligarh began, in fact, to set a particular stamp on the students. On October 23, 1892, Sir Auckland Colvin said: "To have been an Aligarh man is, I have over and over again found, a passport to the respect and confidence of both Englishmen and natives. They carry with them the stamp of their training, the impress of the mind of the man under whom that training has been accomplished".[2]

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1. Graham, Life, 2nd ed., p.263.
2. Addresses and Speeches, Sir Auckland Colvin, reply to the address of the trustees, p.176.

Chapter V

(1)

The Progress and Achievements of the M.A.O.College

1879-1898

The progress of the M.A.O.College from the time of its establishment,was steady and speedy. Through the unwearied exertions of Sir Syed and his friends the College buildings rose rapidly. Although other members of the Fund Committee did not attach great importance to it,Sir Syed thought that the actual process of construction would be a powerful stimulation to peoples' enthusiasm,the more so as the building was on a grand scale.[2] He held that abstract ideas about a pioneering institution would inspire only the idealists but would have very little appeal for the common people,whereas a magnificent building would stimulate enthusiasm in one and all. It would be a standing challenge,to the inactivity of the community and awaken its self-respect.[1]

Sir Syed took a deep personal interest in the planning and building. At every stage he saw to it that the fundamental ideas of the movement were given visual expression.For example the arches were in the Sarcenic[3] style the College mosque was modelled on the Jama' Masjid[4] of Delhi,the main gate of the boarding-house bore the device of a date-palm with a cresent and a cross representing the connection of the Muslims with the British.Hali tells us how keenly Sir Syed was inte-

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1.Hali,Hayat,vol.1.p.218.

2.There are a few buildings in the premises of the College which require more than a day to look at in detail.

3.Hali,Hayat,vol.1.,p.216.

4.Government of India,Education Dept.,Occasional Reports,No.6, Educational Buildings in India,p.38.

5.Hali,Hayat,vol.2.,p.469; Iftikhar 'Alam,Muhammadan College History, p.149.

rested in the day-to-day work of construction. Despite his unwieldiness of body Sir Syed personally supervised most of the work such as digging, levelling and constructing. In an extremely unbearable climate he used to stay at times the whole day on the construction site.

Sir Syed's architectural taste can be seen in the spacious garden with paved walks lined with trees forming beautiful avenues attached to the College and houses. Nor was expense spared: these trees he sent for from different parts of the country renowned for particular kinds of trees. Large amounts of money were thus collected and spent. By 1883, within a decade of the establishment of the primary school in 1875, the Committee had spent " upon the College itself and its Boarding-houses, upon the laying out of the Muir Park[1] and the erection of the walls round it, upon the purchase of several bungalows and various plots of ground necessary to complete that portion granted by Government...Rs.1,75,000. Of this sum about Rs.75,000 had gone towards buildings alone"[2]. W.W.Hunter, president of the Education Commission of 1883, who chose Aligarh as one of the meeting places for the Provincial Committee of the Commission, visited the College, and was greatly impressed with the extent and magnificence of the College plan. He remarked: " The building itself will, when complete, bear comparison with any educational institution in the world, and in extent and magnificence of proportion, more than rivals the venerable

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1. As a memorial of Sir William Muir's interest in the College a garden was planted in the premises of the College under the name of The Muir Park.
2. Muhsin ul-Mulk, ed. Addresses wa Speeches, address given to Sir Alfred Comyns Lyall, Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces, dated Feb.5, 1883, pp.67-8.

piles at Oxford or Cambridge"[1].

It consisted then of a series of lecture rooms, on either side of which were long lines of boarding-houses with corridors along the front. In the first-class quarters each student had two spacious rooms. There were also two dining halls and a large central hall named the Strachey Hall, which was for use on special occations such as prize givings. There was also a Debating Hall, six bungalows for the Hindu students, three houses for the professors, and a large garden and cricket ground. The whole space, which covered about a hundred acres was being surrounded by a handsome wall[2]. On November 20, 1888 when Lord Dufferin, the Governor General, visited the College, the College Committee claimed that it had spent so far "a sum of about four and a half lakhs of rupees in building rooms for residence and lectures, and in providing houses for the European staff of the College in the College-grounds"[3]. The construction work was carried on vigorously till towards the end of Sir Syed's life, by which time the magnificient plan was nearly half completed.

From which sources was such expenditure met? First Sir Syed had, as J. Kennedy stated, "two excellent supporters in the British Government and the Government of Hyderabad. Sir John Strachey, then Lieutenant-Governor of the NortheWestern Provinces, was his fast friend,

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1. Hunter's reply to the address, Address and Speaches, ed. Muhsin ul Mulk, p.61.
2. The Pioneer, Oct.22.1884.
3. Address to Lord Dufferin, Nov.20, 1888, Addresses and speeches, p.126.

and a small group of the Syad's personal disciples, several of them extremely able men, had risen to high office in Hyderabad. Sir Syad Ahmad travelled far and wide to collect funds for his College, but its main endowments came from these sources".[1] As a result the financial condition of the College remained always strong. Within five years of the commencement of the work, that is by 1880, the College possessed, besides the money collected for the building fund, an annual income of Rs.21,000, out of which Rs.6,000 came from the Government as a grant-in-aid.[2] The Nizam of Hyderabad had given a jagir worth Rs. Rs.90,000 a year and an annual cash grant of 10,000 rupees. Sir Salar Jang had given a jagir of Rs.1,200 a year, the Maharaja of Patiala a permanent endowment of Rs.1,800 a year, the Nawab of Rampur had bequeathed a promissory note which yielded an interest of Rs.1,200 a year, and Raja Amir Hasan Khan, Taluqdar of Mahmudabad, Oudh, an endowment of Rs.600 a year. In 1891 the Nizam of Hyderabad doubled his grant to the College and in 1892 the Government grant-in-aid also was doubled and so reached Rs.12,000 per annum. And, as Sir Syed had anticipated, the grandeur of the buildings stimulated enthusiasm and encouraged smaller donations to the building fund. By 1895 the trustees of the College no longer had any doubts about the finances of the College.[3]

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1. Kennedy, "Personal Reminiscence of Sir Syad Ahmad, Asia.Quart. July, 1898. p.17 p.148.
2. Muhsin ul-Mulk, Addresses and Speeches, address to Sir Jhhn Strachey Dec.11, 1880, p.44.
3. ibid. p.1 Urdu address to Iqbal ud Dowla, Prime Minister, Hyderabad-Deccan p.196. (Towards the end of Sir Syed's life an unhappy event shattered the finances of the College. The College clerk, Shiam Behari Lal embezzled more than a lakh of rupees. Besides the tremendous immediate loss, the fraud naturally damped for some time the enthusiasm of the public to contribute. When Sir Syed died the finances were still in a shattered condition.)

Nor was the building up of the College solely a matter of bricks and mortar. The academic work of the College steadily improved and extended. As the number of students increased, further classes were added. The first College class was introduced, as stated before, in 1878. Within five years tthe College became a first grade College, and by 1888 it had begun to teach up to Calcutta University M.A. level, and the Allahabad class of L.L.B.[1] In 1883 when the Government Education Commission visited the College W.W. Hunter, the President of the Commission, noted that "the teaching staff was both numerous and efficient. An English Principal and Professor of University reputation, directed the labours of a body of eminent Orientalists and teachers, of whom any seat of learning might feel proud".[2] The College rooms were crowded with students and there was life and activity everywhere. The Commission recorded the following verdict on on the work of the College: " Among the reasons which are said to have deterred the Musalman from accepting the Government system we have mentioned the absence of all religious instruction and the scant attention paid to morality and manners. It is here that the Aligarh College asserts its special excellence. Religious instruction is a part of the daily exercise, and places of worship are to be found among the College buildings. The pious Musalman, therefore has no fear that his son will grow up careless of his ancestral faith or ignorant of religious truth. His mind is at rest, also on the question of morality and good manners. For residence in College is

1. Report Taraqqi'i Ta'limi Madrasat ul 'Ulumi Musalmanan, Aligarh bābat sāl 1893-4 (Report on the Progress of Education in the M.A.O. College for the year 1893-4), p.2.
2. Muhsin ul-Mulk, Addresses and Speeches, Hunter's reply to the address of the Trustees, p.61.

compulsory upon all students coming from a distance, and a healthy discipline varied by healthy amusement preserves much of the influence of home life, while fostering a manliness of character which home life would fail to give....The Aligarh Society has indeed set an example which, if followed to any large extent, will solve the problem of national education, and it is difficult to speak in words of too high praise of those whose labours have been so strenous, or to overrate the value of the ally which the State has gained in the cause of education and advancement".[1]

Towards the end of 1883 the College got a Principal, Theodore Beck, whose capability, infectious ardour and generous disinterestedness further improved the management and efficiency of the College. Sir Alfred Croft, who reviewed the progress of education in India three years after the Education Commission, found the College striding fast on its way to academic success. " Young as it is," he remarked " it has already given indubitable signs of the high place it aspires to take among the Colleges of the North-Western Provinces; and at the last examination of the University for the B.A. degree it passed eight out of its eleven candidates, five of them taking honours in literary subjects".[2]

It was from the year 1886 that the tide of public opinion amongst Muslims began to flow in favour of Sir Syed and of the Aligarh College;[3] and except for a short time, towards 1889 when the opposi-

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1. Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1883, p.493.
2. Croft, Review of Education in India in 1886, p.322.
3. Morison, The History of the M.A.O.College at Aligarh, p.10.

tion of Maulvi Sami'ullah Khan considerably reduced the number of students,[1] the College went on growing. This growth continued almost to the end of Sir Syed's life--1895 sees in fact the peak. Theodore Morison who was on the staff at that time and was afterward appointed the Principal on Beck's death,has stated:"This was a period of steady progress in all directions;the staff had attained something like stability and were of the stamp that Sir Syed desired". The results of the University Examinations were very favourable to the College and increased the popularity of the institution, and at the same time the life of the Boarding House became "fuller and more vigorous than it had ever been before". The students who passed through the College in those years",he wrote, "retain a lively affection for it,and many of them have laboured hard in after years to promote its prosperity".[2]

Theodore Beck has also left a Report on the progress of the College during that year: "The progress of the College during the past year has been as great or greater than that of any previous year. The numbers have increased; the University results have been good, the food arrangements have been improved,attendance at prayers has been made more regular, a Riding School has been established,regular drill has been instituted and the College Magazine has been put on

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1. See pp.380-382 for a discussion of this opposition.
2. Morison, op.cit.p.11.

a sound footing. The students have shown greater executive capacity and more patriotic spirit. On the other hand,the attendance at the Koran reading has been irregular and the Union and the Akhwan us Safa have been less active. But the Duty has surpassed its previous efforts and the Cricket XI has maintained, while the Football Club has raised, its previous reputation. Though the College has not yet produced any real scholars,it may,I think,claim to have turned out some very nice,manly well-bred and loyal young-men who are likely to be of service both to the Government and the Muhammadan community". There were in this year altogether 565 students,of whom 456 were Muslims.[2] 329 were boarders.

In the manifold objects of the College,the founders met with considerable success. In the general field of Muslim education,for instance,its achievements were most striking. When the earlier educational apathy of the Muslims and the tremendous opposition to Sir Syed is borne in mind,the value of this success increases many fold.

From the establishment of the English Universities in India, in 1858,upto 1875 when the M.A.O.College subordinate school was started in Aligarh there had been but 20 Muslim graduates in the North-Western Provinces,17 B.As.and 3 M.As. But in same year the number of Hindu graduates had been 846 out of whom 715 were B.As. and 131 M.As. The M.A.O.College department was formed in 1878 and only in 1880 did its students appear for University examination. But by 1898 the

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1. Beck,Report Taraqqi Talim Madrastul 'Ulum i Musalmanan i Aligarh (Report on the educational progress of the M.A.O.College,Aligarh), pp.11-12.
2. Morison,The History of the M.A.O.College Aligarh,p.15.

number of Muslim graduates had increased to 126 and there were also some 174 Muslim undergraduates. In the law department students appeared for the law examinations only from 1891,and within nine years 14,and,if the students who passed in the year of Sir Syed's death are included,19,passed the L.L.B.examination and 6 that of wakils and pleaders.[1]

It would be wrong to estimate the educational achievements of the College through the number of successful candidates produced by it alone. Due consideration should be paid to the influence the educational movement of Sir Syed exerted on others and the degree to which it wakened the Muslims throughout India to the necessity of educating their children. Not only was their dislike of English education largely removed,but their whole outlook was profoundly changed. In the Punjab the movement for modern,western education was heartily welcomed. The Punjabis,whom Sir Syed used to call the "Zinda Dilan i Punjab"(lively hearts of the Punjab) not only most generously subscribed towards the establishment of the College and sent their children to it in greater number than any other provinces, but exerted themselves tremendously in improving higher education in their own province. The Inspector of the Lahore Circle said in his report for the year 1888-9:"The Muhammadans have wakened up to

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1. Morison,op.cit.Appendix E.p.65. One student Bahadur 'Ali stood first in Arabic in the M.A.Examination of the Calcutta University, was awarded the University Gold Medal and a prize,and also won from his own College Mrs. Kennedy's Gold Medal.

the necessity of educating their sons. Their old backwardness and dislike of English education is being largely removed. In fact, they have of late taken to English education as the only means of bettering their condition and of rising to positions of trust and responsibility under Government".[1] The result was that the Punjabi Muslims progressed in education more than the Hindus or the Sikhs of the Punjab did.

The Muslim Princes were also incited, through direct correspondence and personal contact with Sir Syed, to take a special interest in the education of Muslims. In Hyderabad-Deccan, and Bhopal, Muslim Colleges were established and were well attended. Innumerable schools for English opened throughout India. Except in the sacred formula of Islam "There is no God but One: and Muhammad is the Apostle of God" stated Nazir Ahmad, " I have never, during the whole of my long life in this world, seen Muslims in India so united as on this present very urgent question of their higher education at Aligarh".[2] The Trustees of the College may be considered right in claiming, as they did in 1892, that "Throughout the continent of India the attention of Mahomedans has been awakened to the necessity of higher education". They went on, of course, to add: "Of this fact there can be little doubt, but time is needed for the results to show themselves, and so far not more than 3 per cent of the students in Colleges throughout India are

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1. Nash, Second Quinquennial Review, p.331.
2. Maulvi Nazir Ahmad, quoted by Andrews, Zaka Ullah of Delhi, p.vii.

Muhamedans, though in these provinces the number is nearer 15 per cent[1]).

The result of this awakening was that though the Muslims failed to recover their whole loss, the number of Muslim graduates increased largely. From 1858 to 1881, that is, from the date of the establishment of the Indian Universities to the date when candidates for University examination appeared from Aligarh, there were but 43 Muslim graduates in whole of India, whereas between 1882 and 1893, that is within a dozen years, they increased to 399; and from 1894 to '96 85 Muslims took their graduation degree from the Punjab and Allahabad Universities alone.

One of the especial features of the institution was to prepare students for completing their education in England. Efforts, however, were made to make the College similar in principle to the system on which the Public Schools of England were run. By 1893, as indicated by Muhsin ul-Mulk in a lecture in the Punjab, ex-students of the M.A.O.College had provided 31 students who from British Universities had passed as barrister at-Law, and four others were still studying. Compared to the condition of North Indian Muslims in 1869 when Sir Syed had left for England, this was the greatest change imaginable.

Nor was the healthy influence of this movement limited to the Muslims. From the very beginning the M.A.O.College remained open

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1. Muhsin ul-Mulk, Address and Speeches, address to Sir Auckland Colvin, October 23, 1892, p.165.

to all communities. There were always Hindus on its roll. The first graduate of the College was a Hindu.[1] From 1877 to 1898, altogether 192 Hindu students passed different examinations from the College.[2]

The movement also succeeded in exerting a good influence upon higher class Hindus whose apathy and backwardness was less than that of the Muslims only in degree. Not only did they realize the importance of educating their children, but, breaking their class prejudices, became accustomed to the idea of sending their sons to Europe for higher studies. Hali states that some of the Hindus who ventured to send their children to Europe were excommunicated by their society. But they did not mind and did not lag behind the Muslims even in this race.[3]

Thus the College did good for the Muslims for whom especially it was established but did also good also for the Hindus for whom it kept its doors always open.

One reason why the movement spread so wide and so soon was the happy coincidence of the British Government being united with Sir Syed and his friends in carrying through the programme of educational reform among the Muslims. If the efforts of Sir Syed and his associates awakened the Muslims to the need for education, it was mostly the British Government, specially outside the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab that provided special facilities for the Muslims in its numbrous

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1. Sir Profulla Chandra Ray, convocation address at the Aligarh National Muslim University, The Educational Review, vol.xxix No.2, Feb.1923.p.78.
2. Out of 192 Hindu students there were 22 graduates, 67 undergraduates 78 University Entrance, 8 LL.Bs, and 7 Attorney.
3. Hali, Hayat, vol.2.p.80.

schools,colleges and universities. These facilities the Muslims increasingly used. It is wrong to consider as Tufail Ahmad Mangalori has done that:"On account of this resolution/that Muslims themselves should arrange for their own education/Muslims deprived themselves consciously of the benefits of the Government Department of Public Instruction despite the fact that both Hindus and Muslims equally shared the burden of its charges".[1] The Government Resolution of 7th August 1871 has already been quoted and the arrangements in every Presidency made in the implementation of this Resolution described. After receiving the Benares Committee Report the British Government paid immediate consideration to removing the various objections raised by the Benares Committee against the State system of education. In a letter dated August 9,1872 the Government of India directed the attention of the Local Government of the North-Western Provinces towards the importance of those objections. It read: "...The Governor General /. .in Council...will be glad to receive an expression of His Honour's opinion on the many important points discussed in the report,and especially on those noted below:

1.The observations made at page 18 upon the advantages that might be deprived by providing the Director of Public Instruction with some assistance in the nature of a consultative Board.

2. The unanimous opinion of the Committee as to the unsatisfactory results of the education in the Government Colleges (15th head of objections and pages 22-23 of report).

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1. Tufail Ahmad Manglori,op.cit.,p.214,

3.The remarks as to the instruction imparted in the Tehseelee and Hulkabandee schools(page 31).

4. The remarks of the Committee on the dislike of the people to the Educational Cess.

" I am also desired to express the wish of His Excellency in Council that with the permission of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor will be good enough to request Syed Ahmed Khan Bahadoor,to state full particulars of the facts which were before the Committee in regard to the alleged tyrnnny and oppression by the officials in Central India, referred to in page 37, in order that an investigation may be made into the matter,if necessary.

" The G.G.in Council would like to see a copy of Mr.Kempson's translation of a History of India to which the Committee so strongly objects in paragraph 22 of its report"[1].

Accordingly, in 1873 a Committee was formed,at the instance of the Government of India, consisting of educational officers and of several other gentlemen such as Mr.F.S.Growse and Mr.M.S.Howell for the purpose of reporting on the text books in use in government schools.[2] The Committee found fault with a great number of books in use including

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1.Letter from Officiating Secretaries to the Govt. of India to the Government of the N.W.P., (No.340), dated August 9,1872,Proceedings of the Govt.of N.W.P. for the month of June 1873,p.73.

2. See the Proceedings of the Govt. of N.W.P. in the Edn.Dept.May 1874,pp.1-7; Proceedings of the Govt.of India.the Home Dept.Edn. No.143,dated March 29,1873.

M.Kempson's history and it was asked that the use of condemned books[2] should be given up in all Government schools.[2] To make education more substantial a standard was laid down for each of the seven classes of the schools. Administrative changes were also taken under consideration. A letter from the Local Government of the North-Western Provinces to M.Kempson the Director of Public Instruction thus pointed out why the Government should adopt a more favourable attitude towards the Muslims. It said:"The decadence of Mahomedan scholarship in India, and the disinclination of the Mahomedans,as a body,to fall in

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1. Kempson had translated Raja Siva Prasad's history of India. The Committee made the following remarks on the History: "As regards Baboo Shiva Prasad's History of India(Nos.68,73 & 77) some difference of opinion prevail...Mr.Growse holds that the author's treatment of the Mahomedan sovereigns was inevitable in the interests of historical truth. This is exactly the point in dispute. Historical accuracy can hardly require that the good features of Mahomed Ghazanavis' character should be passed over in silence and its bad features by no means peculiar to him among sovereigns and conquerors,prominently displayed. The author states at pages 121 and 122 that all the Musalmans,conceiving hopes of the restoration of the Delhi Dyanasty,aspired to obtain courtly titles and enjoy untaxed the revenues of imperial fiefs,whilst a good many silly Hindus who were disaffected to English rule came into their plans. But as it is certainly not true that no Mahmmadans were loyal to the British Government or that no men of ability were among the Hindu rebels,the Mahomedans naturally feel aggreived that so partial a statement should be taught on the authority of a Hindu historian". Howell,Secy.to the Committee for Examining class books,enclosure to the letter from Joint Magistrate of Benares to the Director of Public Instruction of the N.W.P. dated March:19,1874, Proceedings,Ed. .Dept.May 1874, Index No.2,Progs.No.2.p.29.
2. Order of the Govt.N.W.P. to the Director of Public Instruction, No.362 A of 1875,from the Government of N.W.P.to the D.P.I,dated 1875,attached to the Report on the Progress of Education in the N.W.P. for the year 1874-5,part.1. page of the Order.14.

with our University system,and the appropriate remedy for these evils, are matters of the highest importance,both socially and politically. Socially,because it is a duty incumbent on the British Government so to shape its educational measures as to make them agreeable to this large section of the people,who at present,by their predilections, or it may be prejudices,are shut out from the influence of our educational system. Politically,because the enlightenment of the Musalmans and the gaining of them over to co-operate with ourselves in the education of their youth,would prove one of the surest means of attaching them to our rule. But for this purpose,it is essential that the teaching of modern science be combined with that of their own literature, and thus made acceptable,and we may trust in the end even popular, amongst them"[1].

Thus the Government of India and the Local Governments kept themselves busy for many years to come in seeing that the Indian Muslims had appropriate educational facilities and in giving ear to the complaints of the most advanced group. In 1878 the curriculum of the Calcutta

1. Letter from the Govt.N.W.P.to the D.P.I.No.40,dated Nov.1873,Report on the Progress of Education N.W.P. for the year 1872-3,part.1.p.38, Appendix.11.
2. In 1876 Sir Syed took a retrospective view of his efforts and achievements : " One important outcome of the last few years' struggle of the Committee for the Better Diffusion and Advancement of Learning specialiy for the Muslims was that the Government Madras,Bengal, and Bombay had issued special orders for the progress of education of the Muslims for which all Muslims should thank the Government. All three Governments have very kindly sent all the related correspondence to us... Besides this,the great benefit to the country of the Committee is that the Government has admitted thatthe education provided by the Indian Universities was insufficient and that the Indian Universities was insufficient and that the Indians should got more education. Therefore a special Committee has been appointed which will decide about it. So even our Hindu brothers are indebted to the efforts of the Committee. A still more important outcome of our efforts is that the Government has ordered that all the books, a list of which we had published,should be translated into the vernaculars.We hope that out country will remember these achievements of our efforts for many generation to come".Sir Syed Mazamin,vol.11. p.527.

Calcutta University was modified.[1] The same year the office of the Director of Public Instruction was abolished[2] and M.Kempson had to retire prematurely.[3] A senior officer with the designation of Inspector General was appointed. The Inspection Circles were increased in number -- "one Inspector,aided by a subordinate staff,having been appointed to the charge of each revenue division of the North-Western Provinces".[4] "The results of the new system",asserted R.T.H.Griffith, "are that schools are more thoroughly inspected,that more attention is paid to the training of teachers,and,what is of the greatest importance,that the inspectors are brought into closer connection with the district school committees,with the Collectors and other district officers,and with the Commissioner of their own division".[5] In 1882 an Educational Commission was appointed for further inquiry into the causes that hindered Muslim education and the means of developing it.Sir Syed,and after his resignation,his son Sayyid Mahmud were made members of the Commission and Sir Syed was asked to give evidence. It was mostly under the influence of Sir Syed that the Commission made no less than seventeen recommendations to make the state schools and colleges more acceptable to the Muslims,despite the fact that it had found them already abundant in Government schools.[6] The most important of these recommendations were

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1. See Calcutta University Calendar 1878-9,pp.35-7.
2. It was,however,re-established in Jan.1879,Report on Public Instruction in the N.W.P.and Oudh,for 78-79,p.1.
3. Report on Public Instruction in the N.W.P.& Oudh,1877-8,p.1.
4. Report on public Instruction in the N.W.P.& Oudh,1878-9,p.1.
5. ibid.p.4.
6. Hunter,reply to the address of the Trustees,Address and speeches, p.55.

that the special encouragement of Muhammadan education be regarded as a legitimate charge on Local, on Municipal, and on Provincial Funds; that in the annual Reports on Public instruction a special section be devoted to Muhammadan education; that the attention of Local Governments be invited to the question of the proportion in which patronage is distributed among educated Muhammadans and others etc.etc.[1] How keen the Government was to further Sir Syed's movement could be estimated by the fact that the Commission, in testing the hindrances to Muslim acceptance of Government education, followed almost exactly the lines of the Benares Committee report of 1872. The demand that Hindi be the language of schools and court, so vigorously renewed[2] by the Hindus with the appointment of the Commission, was for the time being ignored and Sir Syed's work pushed forward.

The success of the College in spreading University education so rapidly might have been considered a great achievement by the founders of any seat of learning. It had been more so to the founders of the M.A.O.College because it was a solution to the social and political problems of upper class Muslims also.[1] Already University education had made its way into the social structure and had established there a warrant of precedence which those who cared to get into good society could not afford to ignore.[3] It was also the only recognized gateway

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1. Report of the Indian Education Commission 1883, pp.
2. W.W.Hunter in his speech at the M.A.O.College pointed out that the Commission authorities were receiving daily memorials signed by thousands of people urging the use of Hindi in Schools and Courts. See, Muhsin ul-Mulk, Addresses and Speeches, p.55.
3. Ghosh, Higher Education in Bengal under British Rule, p.181.

to the world for those who were able and ambitious. "Sir Syed's decision to concentrate on Western education for Muslims was undoubtedly a right one. Without that they could not have played any effective part in the building up of Indian nationalism of the new type, and they would have been doomed to play second fiddle to the Hindu with their better education and far stronger economic position"[1]. Nevertheless Sir Syed tried, on the one hand to persuade the Government to reform the University system and to raise its standard and on the other hand to develop the M.A.O.College into a central University for the Muslims, a University which might rank some day with Oxford, Cambridge and Paris, as a home of great and noble ideas a university where Muslim youths might receive the highest instruction in the sciences of the West and where the teaching of the history and literature of the East might not be scamped; where a mere parrot-like knowledge of Western thought was not thought enough and where the youths might also enjoy, in addition to such advantages, a Muslim atmosphere[1]. Sir Syed also hoped that as the English universities had revived and preserved the culture of Greece and Rome, his University would revive and retain Islamic culture[3]. It has been already described how he successfully persuaded the British Government to reform some of the courses of the Calcutta University. He also made efforts to make Aligarh a seat of learning in which he was also partly successful. In his life-time

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1. Nehru, Autobiography, p.462.
2. Aga Khan, The Memoirs of Aga Khan, p.78.
3. Khuda Bakhsh, "A Mahomedan University", Asia Quart., April 1, 1899, p.291; Muhammad 'Ali, The Proposed Mohamedan University, pp.20-1.

J. Kennedy asserts that the M.A.O.College represented" the union of the East and the West. European science taught by Englishmen is to flourish side by side with Mahomedan learning,and Western ideas to march hand in hand with Muslim tradition...an atmosphere of learning is growing up around the College. Elderly Mahomedans who have passed their days in high offices of state retire to Aligarh to spend the evening of their lives in the College society,as in a literary restaurant.[1] An air of intellectual tolerance and culture pervades the place.

"Truly a daring experiment,and the marvel is that it has -- to a certain extent,at any rate--succeeded".[2]

No account of the progress of the College would be complete without an estimate of the importance it achieved as a centre of Muslim nationalism and a stronghold of support for the British Government in North India.[3] "Till then",writes Tufail Ahmad Manglori of the establishment of the College,"Muslims were but naught in all Government institutions. They did not have a single institution for modern sciences of their own where they formed a body and which could work as the centre for national feelings and inspiration. This deficiency was filled by the M.A.O.College,the brotherhood of whose students became unique for its unity and fraternity. Aligarh College thus became a centre not only for its old students but for the whole community whence national feelings originated and spread throughout the country

1. See also The Proposed Mohamedan University,by Mohamed Ali,pp.37-8.
2. Kennedy,"A Mahomedan University for Northern India,"Asia.Quart. Review,October,1898,p.277.
3. Nazir Ahmad,Lecture No.16,Mut'lliq ba Ijlas i hashtum Muhammadan Educational Conference mun'aqida Dec.1893 at Aligarh,(Proceedings of the eighth annual meeting of the M.E.Conference held at Aligarh. Dec.1893)p.28.

cheering the melancholy hearts of the Muslims, particularly of those educated Muslims who had to face difficulties in government offices. The point was reached when the voice of Aligarh echoed throughout Muslim India and the orders issued at Aligarh were carried out by all Muslims. All this happened on account of Sir Syed".[1]

Indeed the M.A.O.College was the largest and most successful educational institutions devised on the principle of self-help among the Muslims and it soon became " a symbol of the new Muslim nationalism".[2][3] In the College and boarding-houses, as described already, all the influences which give vitality to centres of education, had been set to work and "an alma mater capable of exciting the motive of patriotism was also there".[4] The presence of Sir Syed himself and of his friends served to inspire high and noble feelings. Sir Syed, wrote Morison five years after the death of Sir Syed, " was not only the founder of the College but the mainspring of its subsequent life and growth; the whole place was to such as extent inspired and dominated by his personality that we did not know in those days whether any part of his creation could have a life independent of him. Apart from the work of administration, which he actually dispatched himself (and the volume of this was enormous), his presence gave a moral meaning and an earnestness to all life in the College; even young students, or others who

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1. Tufail Ahmad Mangalori, Musalmanon ka Rawshan Mustaqbil, p.220
2. In his Memoirs the Aga Khan wrote: "...we may claim with pride that Aligarh was the product of our own efforts and of no outside benevolence". The Memoirs of Aga Khan, p.36.
3. Lajpat Rai, The Problem of National Education in India, p.16.
4. Caine, Picturesque India , p.266,

did not come into close contact with him, were influenced by the lofty character and great example, and those of us who had the privilege of being on intimate terms with him owed our principal inspiration to our admiration for him. We have continued to work since his death, but we have lost the great reward of our service in former days -- the satisfaction of giving him pleasure".[1] Aligarh became a starting point of "a slow awakening of the Moslem community out of its listlessness".[2] It also became the most potent factor in breaking down the feeling of backwardness and dependency and in mobilizing the forces which changed an attitude of fatalistic acceptance into one of determined revolt. Long before the College reached the stage of perfection it began to exert a direct influence on the fortunes of the Indian Muslims. The spirit of self-help extended, and many institutions and movements originated in other parts of the country.

In the Punjab, for instance, a Circle Inspector found that the Muslims had "of late recognised the value of self-help and private enterprise in the matter of education .The Muhammadan Raises and Makhdoms of Mooltan have started an Anjuman-i Islamiya in their city,the principal aim of which is to promote education among the Muhammadans. They have es-

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1. Morison, op. cit., p.19.
2. Kraemer, "Islam in India Today", The Moslem World, vol. xxi, 1931, p.158.

tablished a primary school to which allusion has already been made elsewhere in this report"[1]. W.S.Caine recorded,after his visit, a similar sense of the awakening inspired by Sir Syed's work:" It has taught the Muhammadans that though depressed they are not powerless to work out their own improvement. It has led them to rely on their own efforts rather than on the Government and to accuse themselves and not their rulers for their misfortunes"[2]. Caine also noted the political atmosphere of Aligarh: The Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College differs from most other colleges in being the expansion of a political rather than a purely educational impulse"[3]. He found the Muslims watching the progress of the College with deep interest:"the hopes of the nation are bound up with the success of this institution"[4]. In March 1898 the Pioneer claimed that the College was "the most salutary and fruitful political force that has moved the Mahomedan world of India during the last quarter of a century"[5].

But the College also grew as a strong centre of those who believed in loyalty to the British Government and preached it to others. Sir Syed believed "that enlightenment meant loyalty to Britain"[6] and his teaching and his influence began to be exerted upon a very important class of the Muslims[7]. The development largely by Hindus, of the

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1. Nash, Second Quinquennial Review, p.331.
2. Caine,Picturesque India,pp.267-8.Written after his visit in 1888.
3. ibid. p.264.
4. ibid. p.266.
5. The Pioneer,March,29,1898.
6. Lovett,A History of the Indian Nationalist Movement,p.41.
7. Temple,India in 1880,p.114.

National Congress, accelerated this influence many fold. In their address to the Viceroy in 1887, the Trustees stated that "in awakening sentiments which have dissuaded the vast majority of our co-religionists and fellow-subjects from taking part in such agitation of a political or quasi-political character as, being out of place under the present condition of the British Empire in India, are calculated to disturb the peace, equanimity, and contentedness of the vast population that claims loyal allegiance to Her Majesty the Queen-Empress".[1]

This political attitude in the College made it certain that it would receive every help from the British Government. In 1885 Colonel Graham wrote his laudatory Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and enumerated Sir Syed's Services. Sir Auckland Colvin, Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Provinces went out of his way in 1888 to stress the deep influence upon his own thinking which Sir Syed's Causes of the Indian Revolt had had.[2] In the same year Sir Syed was made a K.C.S.I. In 1889 the honourary degree of LL.D. was awarded to him by Edinburgh University in appreciation of his learning and social services. If Sir Syed's services were thus appreciated the Muslims also "who until then were under the cloud of suspicion, began to glow in the sunshine of loyalty".[3] As the Aga Khan said: "Under the old conditions, the Mahomedans were doomed to be nothing but a one-fifth minority in an overwhelming Brahmanical India".[4]

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1. Muhsin ul Mulk, Addresses and Speeches, address to Lord Dufferin, Nov.20, 1888, p.133.
2. See Auckland's reply to the address of the trustees, March 1888, ibid, p.122.
3. An Indian Musalman", Indian Mussalmans and Indian Politics" part.1. The Hindustan Review, vol.xix, Jan.1909, p.51.
4. Aga Khan, India in Transition, p.24.

But now the Muslims were treated as equal in status to the Hindus, and to the high-caste Hindus at that.[1] They were considered loyal enough to perform some of the most confidential services to the British Government not only in India but in other countries also. Thus in 1884 when Lord Northbrook was sent to Egypt, a Muslim, Maulvi Sami' ullah Khan was taken upon his staff.[2] On November, 18, 1884 Lord Ripon asked the College trustees "to observe the proof which this circumstance affords of the readiness of the British Government to employ natives of India outside their own country (loud and prolonged applause), upon suitable occasions as opportunity may offer".[3] Minors under the Courts of Wards, at first generally sent to the Ward's Institute at Benares, were now sent to the M.A.O.College. In 1884 there were "twelve wards, six of whom were Musalmans".[4] In 1888 the idea of a Muslim University which had been rejected in 1873 when Muslim loyalty was suspected, was reviewed by Sir John Strachey in his " India: Its Administration and Progress. He wrote : " I believe, for my part, that this [a denominational University] would be a measure of great utility, likely to lead to results of the utmost value".[5] Towards the

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1. See letter from Chief Commissioner to the Director of Public Instruction, Oudh. No.5272, dated Nov.12, 1875, Report on the Progress of Education in the Province of Oudh, 1874-5, p.2.
2. Zaka ullah, Sawanih 'Umri Maulvi Sami ullah Khan , vol.1, p.166.
3. Muhsin ul Mulk, Addresses and Speeches, p.112. Maulvi Sami' ullah Khan was also awarded the title C.M.G. About his services the Pioneer wrote: " Many religious and political doubts which the Egyptian Moslems had about the intentions of English legislators and the new Courts were removed" Sept.28, 1907.
4. Report on Public Instruction in the N.W.P. and Oudh for the year ending 31st March 1884, p.130.
5. Strachey, India: Its Administration and Progress, 4th ed. p.291.

close of Sir Syed's life this confidence in the Aligarh group was such that in November 1897 when the British were fighting against the Afridi Muslims and the Anglo-Indian newspapers were questioning the loyalty of the Indian Muslims, Lord Elgin, the Viceroy, purposely visited the College and said: " Now gentlemen there is no moment at which a demonstration of this kind can come so gratefully to my mind as the present; the Government of India has, most unwillingly, been forced into open conflict with the tribes who belong to your community, and there have not been wanting those who have alleged there was a real and growing antagonism between British rule in India and its Mahomedan subjects... and I am glad, here in this spot, on a more peaceful occasion, to recognise and to know that there is growing up in this College under peaceful circumstances the same spirit of loyalty and devotion which has been shown in the field".[1]

Within the College boundaries the rapprochment between the rulers and the ruled was carried on more substantially. The presence of English staff such as Theodore Beck, who held that the stability of British rule in India depended upon a closer relationship between the English and the Indians,[2] made this intercouse not only possible but

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1. Muhsin ul-Mulk, Addresses and Speeches, p. 208.
2. In his Essays on Indian Topcis Beck wrote : "...When this want of intercouse between the communities, or a reasonable number of people of each, is fixed on my attention, I often feel, with a sinking heart, that the end of the British Indian Empire is not distant. The evils that come from it are gigantic; the leaders of the people are disgusted; ridiculous, false impressions of Englishmen and the malign intentions of Government are rampant in native society; and the English rulers are easily hoodwinked, whether by a clever aspirant for office or a noisy National Congress.... Real social intercourse is the cement which would make strong the political edifice". Beck, Essays on Indian Topics, "Social Intercourse" pp. 89-90.

created a very particular atmosphere in Aligarh. Beck used to mix freely with the students and kept in contact with their parents, especially with those who lived in the city. Being on friendly terms with other European and 'Anglo-Indian' district Officers he became " a point of contact between the two sections of the communities"[1]. Caine noted how the introduction of European games and athletics had provided further occasions for social contact. " The English ladies and gentlemen of the station entertain the College students at lunch, and accept their invitations to dine with them in the College hall. The basis was thus laid for feelings of good will which, if it spread, will be of incalculable advantage both to the people of India and to the British Rule"[2]. Kennedy, who had many occasions to mix with Indians at Aligarh, stated: " Native gentlemen and English officials began to meet on equal terms in private life, to play lawn tennis and billiards together, and to dine at each others houses. State banquets were held at the College, or the Aligarh Institute; and I have seldom seen a merrier party or enjoyed dinners more than at some of the private entertainments...."[3] Thus the College succeeded in banishing English contempt on the one hand and Muslim fear and pride on the other. " The political benefit of this free social intercourse was immense. It was a liberal education for Europeans and natives alike; it destroyed prejudices, removed suspicions, and engendered an air of frankness and unreserve

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1. Carpenter, From Adams Peak to Elephanta, 2nd.ed.p.271.(The first edition was published in 1892).
2. Caine, Picturesque India, p.267.
3. Kennedy, "Personal Reminiscences of Sir Syad Ahmad" Asia.Quart. July 1898, p.149.

which enabled the head of the District to remedy many a grievance and settle many incipient disputes. And loyalty came into fashion. It was everywhere felt that the future of the Mahomedans depended upon their alliance with the English. Nor were the Hindus one whit less loyal...In fine the District had become the most enlightened and most loyal in the Province"[1].

So far the achievements of the College in the years 1879-1898 have been assessed without much reference to any apposition or difficulties it faced. It is obvious however that an institution of such political and social importance could not fail to arouse conflict -- and conflict there was,with the Hindus,with the British and with some sections of the Muslim community itself.

The jealousy and opposition of the Hindus,touched upon in relation to the proportion of Government posts given to the Muslims will be dealt with in more detail in discussing the politics of the period.

The conflict with the British arose from their desire to achieve a closer control over the management of so politically important an institution. It has been already pointed out that the British Government had only agreed to help the College on the Benares Committee consenting to Government's control to a certain extent over the institution. The Committee's pledge to appoint Europeans as Principal of the College, the head-master of the subordinate school,and to one of the professor-

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1.ibid.pl 150.

ships was intended to safeguard the British interest and to guarantee that the College would follow its professed policy honestly. After 1886, by when the College had attained a recognised position as a Muslim political centre, there arose a conflict over the powers of the European staff (who held in the College as it were the position of British Resident in a princely state).

According to the early rules and regulations the Trustees of the College had been the final authority in the administration of both College and boarding-houses. The position of the European staff had not been defined. The early European staff was not interested in the policy of the College and was content to limit its control to that over the College alone. But Mr.Beck extended his control over the boarding-houses too.[2] Sir Syed, who took it as a good omen for the College, did not object, but other Trustees were furious. Maulvi Sami'ullah Khan, who was the most influential Trustee, represented the whole indignant body of Trustees. Even before this Maulvi Sami'ullah Khan had had strong doubts about the soundness of the policy of having Europeans on the College staff, their high salaries tending to make the College education expensive and thus depriving many Muslim students of the chance of joining the College. He did not like young Muslim boarders to be influenced

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1. See Iftikhar 'Alam, Muhammadan College History, pp.131-134.
2. The argument of the European staff was that "All authority in the Boarding house ought to be in the principals hands and the Committee ought to give their orders from him". The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh 1879-1922, vol.1. letter to his mother dated Feb.22,1887, p.102.

by Christians. Consequently Maulvi Sami' ullah Khan and Mr. Beck had but the most formal relationships.[1] Mr, Beck knew that were not some strong action taken, Maulvi Sami' ullah Khan would succeed as Secretary after Sir Syed's death. He, therefore, along with other European members of the academic staff and European District Officers, pressed Sir Syed to make fundamental changes in the College bye-laws.[2] The European staff even threatened Sir Syed with resignation were not their suggestions followed. Sir Syed therefore, suspended the old Managing Committee and formed a new managing body under the name of the Board of Management.[3] Maulvi Sami' ullah Khan was not taken onto the Board.[4] In 1889 a new bye-law, The Law of Trustees, was drawn up and Sayyid Mahmud was appointed joint Secretary in Sir Syed's life and Life Secretary after his death.[5] The rights and powers of the European staff and Principal were clearly defined.[6] According to the code No. 287 the Principal was given full authority over the boarding house and College.[7] Indignant, Maulvi Sami'ullah Khan

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1. Tufail Ahmad Manglori, Musalmanon ka Raushan Mustaqbil, p.218
2. Sir Syed, Speech at Aligarh, Dec.28, 1889, Muk.Maj.,pp.422, 427.
3. Tufail Ahmad Manglori, op. cit., p.218.
4. ibid., p.218.
5. The controversy regarding the Trustee Bill continued for a long time. In March 1892, Sir Syed wrote to the Government of the N.W.P.: "Some of the members of the College Fund Committee who owing to some reasons of their own formed a party in opposition to the passing of some of the rules of the constitution, strongly opposed them; but the Rules and Regulations, as they were formed, were ultimately carried out on the 28th Dec. 1889 by a great majority of votes of the College Fund Committee and thus the College and its entire arrangement fell into the hands of the Trustees". Proceedings of the Govt., N.W.P. Ed. Dept., March 1893, pp. 290-91.
6. Qawanin wa Qawaid dar bab Taqrrur Trustiyan Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh, Dec. 28, 1889, Dec. 30, 1892. (Rules and Regulations relating to the Appointment of the Trustees, M.A.O. College, Aligarh, Dec. 28, 1889, Dec. 30, 1892) pp. 45-68.
7. ibid., pp. 78 - 79.

and his party left the College. The secession of Maulvi Sami'ullah Khan was a great blow to the College.For many years to come the financial condition of the College remained precarious and many students left. But Maulvi Sami'Ullah Khan refrained from actual opposition.[1] Muslim Hostel in Allahabad,retired from public life.

Ever since the opposition of Maulvi Sami'ullah Khan Sir Syed had been anxious to see the future of his College more secure. His growing trust in the British Government convinced him that it would be safest in the hands of the Government alone. He,therefore,on the 28th of March 1892,with the approval of the College Trustees,[2] sent an application to the Government to take over the responsibility and to "supervise and have a watch"[3] over the actions of the College Trustees so that the future of the College might not be endangered on account of the mismanagement and the incapability of its Trustees or due to their misappropriation and embezzlement.[4] Accordingly the power of supervision and control was taken over by the Government by means of"amend-

1. One reason why Sir Syed was successful was that those who had no personal regard for him helped him on account of his mission. The example of Sami'ullah's restraint can be matched by that of Wiqar ul Mulk,who also opposed the Trustees Bill. He too always remained interested in the College and helped it in all possible ways,as in persuading the Nizam to double the grant and in arranging Sir Syed's visit to Warangal to collect subscriptions to the College.Habib ur Rahman Sherwani,Wiqar i Hayat,p.297; also see Zakaullah Sawanih Umri Maulvi Haji Muhammad Sami ullah Khan,p.65.
2. Ruidad No.6,Ijlas i Trustiyan M.A.O.College(Proceedings of the sixth meeting of the M.A.O.College Trustees)p.16.
3. Sir Syed,letter to the Govt.of N.W.P.&.Oudh,No.78 March,28,1892, Proceedings of the Govt.of N.W.P.& Oudh,Ed.Dept.March,1893,p.291.
4. ibid.p.291.

ment of the Rules".[1][2] No need was felt for special legislation.

The creation of a new Muslim attitude towards education or of a new Muslim political outlook were real but intangible results of Sir Syed's creation of the College. There were, however, very measurable benefits to to the community to be attributed to its foundation, the benefits which flowed from the securing of important Government posts for Aligarh students.

Sir Syed was always well aware of the practical value of his educational scheme--and he went into the greatest detail to make sure that students would be not only well educated but so educated that they would make their way in the world. To take a small, but typical incident. Soon after the Aligarh School was started Sir Syed applied[3] to the Government of the North-Western Provinces to use English figures signs or symbols in the mathematical text books of the Urdu Department. He argued the case fully on grounds of printing technicalities, but mainly of ultimate utility: students accustomed to use English figures at school would be able to handle English surveying instruments etc. to proceed with ease to the Thomason College at Rurki, to serve the Government in the Settlement, Survey and Public Work Departments to better advantage.[4] The suggestion was turned down--largely ~~because of the~~

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1. By this amendment the Local Government was authorised to institute any inquiry with a view to ascertaining whether the provision of the laws of the College for the time being in force were duly complied with, and if not to direct the Trustees to comply with them.
   The Annual Budget Report was to be submitted to the Government. The Lieutenant - Governor reserved the power to pass such orders as he thought fit regarding the safe custody of the monies and securities referred to. See Act Xx. of 1892., Proceedings of the Govt. N.W.P. Ed. Dept. March, 1893, p.294.
2. Letter from Govt. N.W.P& Oudh to Sir Syed, No.2495E/III-452 Sept.12, 1892, Proceedings of the Govt. of N.W.P.& Oudh, Ed.Dept.March 1893, p.303.
3. Letter from Sir Syed to the Govt. N.W.P., Feb.27, 1875, Proceedings of Govt. N.W.P. May, 1875, p.35(Ed.Dept).
4. ibid. p.35.

because of the extra cost of preparing works partly in Urdu and partly in English[1]-- but the attitude of mind it shows thus early was typical-- and very definitely not that of an unpractical theoriser such as Sir Syed has sometimes been described as being.

In the same way Sir Syed insisted on the boys playing games and doing physical exercises, partly because they were things valuable in themselves--as he had seen in England-- but partly because they qualified an applicant for army or police posts. From 1888 an experienced military officer, with the consent of the Lieutenant Governor, was appointed to instruct and drill the students. After completing the course a certificate was awarded to them which helped them to get a government job. By 1896 no less than 25 students of the M.A.O.College had succeeded in getting posts in the Police department.[2]

Arrangements were also made for a riding school to give the students training for the Bengal Cavalry. A pensioned officer of the Bengal Cavalry was taken on the staff and after several months' training students were awarded a certificate. With the help of this certificate many students of the M.A.O.College succeeded in getting

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1. An Inspector of School who was consulted argued that unless there was a guarantee that the proposed mixed text would be "Cheaper" than the purely Persian texts we now employ, it seems scarely woth while to discuss the question whether they will be better or worse vehicles of instruction". Letter from the Inspector of 2nd Circle N.W.P. to the D.P.I. No.12, dated April 20, 1875, Proceedings of the Govt. of N.W.P. Ed. Dept. for the month May 1875, p.38.

2. Tufail Ahmad, Muhammadan College Directory, 140-141.

the highest posts in the military department opened to Indians.

The establishment of a Law class in 1891 was a similar effort. Towards 1876 the High Court had expressed to the Educational Department its strong sense of the need to impose some educational qualification upon the candidates for the office of pleaders in the subordinate Courts; and urged "the establishment of law classes in other of the chief educational centres in the North-Western Provinces".[1] It complained of the difficulties in the administration of justice that rose "from the imperfect education and inferior social status of the large majority of the pleaders in the Courts".[2]

It therefore asked, as its experience of pleaders who had attended law classes had been most favourable, that from 1879 all pleaders be required to have attended a regular law class. This being the requirement, Sir Syed arranged for a class at Aligarh.

Sir Syed's efforts to qualify young Muslims for responsible positions in Government offices -- for it was Sir Syed's belief that to deserve is essential before desiring anything[3] -- would have been but half successful had not the Government itself strong reasons for raising the percentage of native genfry, and particularly of Muslims, in Government services. The problem of communal or class representation in the

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1. From W.Tyrrell, Registrar, High Court of Judicature, to Off. Sec. to Govt. N.W.P., No.1313, dated 28 August, 28, 1876, Index No.1. Progs. No1. 1., date October 14, 1876, Proceedings, Educational Department, Oct.1876, p.115.
2. ibid.
3. Muhsin ul-Mulk, Addresses and Speeches, p.40.

administration, as Sir Syed once pointed out himself, was a political problem.[1] The Government of India Resolution of August 7, 1871, asking local governments to appoint Muslims has already been quoted. Further steps were taken in 1878. Muslims so far had failed to secure any representation in the Civil Service through competitive examination. On May, 2, 1878 a number of important appointments, hitherto filled by competition, were reserved by the Government of India to be filled by nomination. The Resolution read: " We do not, in anywise, undervalue the ability and worth of the many excellent public servants furnished to the State by those classes of the native community from which the present uncovenanted Service is mainly recruited. ... But we attach great importance to the obvious political expediency of endeavouring to strengthen our administration by attracting to it that class of natives whose social position or connections give to them a commanding influence over their own countrymen. The qualifications of such persons for administrative employment are partly inherited, partly developed by early habits of command, partly proved by the readiness with which their right to command is recognised by large numbers of their native fellow-subjects. But qualifications of this kind cannot be tested by competitive examination and, moreover, ...they are not attracted to it by the present conditions of the uncovenanted Service.

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1. Sir Syed, speech at Lahore, dated Dec. 29, 1873, Muk. Maj. p. 115.

"We must either permanently exclude from the administration of the country, greatly to the detriment of its strength and popularity, all the most influential classes of its native population, or else we must admit them- by selection, and attract them by an assured prospect of promotion, if adequately merited, to an official status, commensurate with their legitimate aspirations.... To ensure the requisite standard of efficiency and energy in a service so organised as to combine social influence with educational proficiency, we must make that service a close one. We must reserve to the members of it a sufficient number of important appointments; and for those appointments, we must train them up from the beginning of their service. By recognizing the employment of native agency on these principles, we shall avoid the obstacles which have hitherto baffled all attempts to enlarge the field of such agency in adequate accordance with the spirit and intention of the various Acts of Parliament still regarded by the natives of India as promises very imperfectly fulfilled .

" The following assignments then held by covenanted Civil Service are proposed to be transferred to the close service thus constituted. Assistant Magistrates, Assistant Superintendents of Police, Divisional Officer, District Magistrate and Deputy Collectors, Assistant Judgeships, Subordinate Judgeships, District or Affiliate Judgeships, Assistant Secretaryships, Inspectors of Registration, Registrarships to High Courts, Members Board of Revenue, Deputy Collector of Customs, also in Accounts and Political lines".[1]

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1. Letters received, India, vol. 22, Home Department, (Public) No. 35 of 1878, pp. 6-7.

In succeeding years many students of the M.A.O.College were appointed on different important services. In 1888 two students of the College were appointed to the Statutory Civil Service.[1] By 1893 one student of the College had been appointed to the Imperial Service. and some 321 ex-students had secured government posts of lesser importance.[2] (Only a few of these were Hindus). This change in the attitude of the Government towards the Muslims did not remain unnoticed. Criticism was made that Government was giving undue preference to the Muslims. As a Hindu writer put it, " Whether in the public service, or in the Municipal and Local Boards, or in the Legislative Councils, the people perceived the working of this racial bias, and although the Government was not altogether without some justification in certain cases, the majority of the people were not slow to attribute its actions to the working of a settled policy".[3]

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1. Muhsin ul-Mulk, Addresses and Speeches, address to Sir Auckland Colvin, Lieutenant Governor, N.W.P., March 10, 1888. p.116.
2. Following is a list of those students of the M.A.O.College who were officiating as Government or private officers and those who were soon to be posted in 1893.

Imperial Service....	1
Civil Service ..	2
Bar at Law ..	31
Civil Surgeon	1
Medical students in England	4
Medical students in India	5
Students at Police School, Allahabad	5
Collector, Extra-Assistant	11
Judges	2
Subordinate Judge	20
Revenue Collectors	16
Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors, Police	29
Opium Agent	2
Assistant Superintendent	10
Head Clerk etc.	64
Education	31
Indian States	49
Attorneys	37
Army	7

(contd)

In time the criticism grew so hot that the Government had to dwell upon this point. In 1893, Sir Auckland Colvin, the Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces, replying to an address presented by the Trustees of the M.A.O.College said: " And now, before concluding, I have a word to add of a somewhat more personal nature. Among other criticisms to which the administration has been subjected, has, I have observed, been the criticism that it has given an undue preference to Mahomedans. That I have a very strong feeling of regard towards the Mahomedan community,..... I gladly admit,... I may say the same of my friends among the Hindu community... Nor should I have taken this occasion to say anything on the subject, had the criticism been a purely personal one. But it implies an abuse of public patronage, and a misuse of the means of preferment which are placed in my hands by higher authority because there is possibly no better test of preference shown to one or the other section of the community than the exercise of the power of patrongge vested in the haad of the administration. A few figures will throw some light on the question, so far as this particular criticism is concerned. A Local Government,... has the privilege of making certain recommendations to the Viceroy, with a view to obtaining titles of distinction for those who in its opinion merit them. It has also the power

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(contd.)

Total.... 324

Muhsin ul-Mulk, Mumu'a Lectures and Speeches, part.1. speech delivered at Lahore dated June, 25, 1898, p.351. These statistics were for the year 1893.

3, Mazumdar, Indian National Evolution, 2nd.ed.p.247.

to direct the appointment annually of a certain number of Deputy Collectors and Tahsildars. How has this power been exercised during the last five years in the United Provinces? Twenty-eight men have received titles of distinction of whom fourteen were Mahomedans and fourteen Hindus; twenty-six men have been made by the Government Deputy-Collectors, of whom sixteen were Hindu and ten Mahomedans; fifteen men have been appointed Tehsildars, of whom nine were Mahomedans and six Hindus; thirty-three Mahomedans in all, against thirty-six Hindus. It may be said that as the Hindus in these Provinces are more numerous than the Mahomedans preferment or distinction should be granted in numerical proportion. But if we leave out of sight the vast masses of the agricultural population and take into consideration only the classes to whom, in such matters, consideration is limited, the disproportion almost wholly disappears..."[1] But, as Hali suggests, the proper method of estimating the progress of the Muslims in the field of service, whether Government or non-Government, could not be to find out the difference between the numbers of Muslims so employed before and after the establishment of the M.A.O.College. The proper method would be to think of the condition of the Muslims in the field of employment had the M.A.O.College not been established and the Muslims not been diverted towards education.... It should be taken for granted that all young employed Muslims, whether educated in the M.A.O.College or in any other college, are the consequence of that hue a

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1. Muhsin ul-Mulk, Addresses and Speeches, Sir Auckland Colvin's reply to the address of the Trustees of the College, pp.187-9.

and cry that Sir Syed,after returning from England,made to establish the M.A.O.College and to direct the attention of the Muslims towards it.[1]

The Muslim criticism of Aligarh had various origins. Some critics like Jamal/ud/Din Afghani[2] bitterly criticised the teaching of loyalty to the British;others,like Hali,were opposed to the active preprtion for Government service. (To Jamal/ud/Din Afghani loyalty to the British was treason to the country,and he attacked Sir Syed for making Muslims slaves and for sowing dissension between Hindus and Muslims)[3]. Thus in 1893 Hali wrote an article "Ham Jite Hain Ya Mar Gae"? (Are we alive or dead?), and complained of the growing tendencies in the young educated generation. He wrote: " Their ambition is government service. They have no confidence in their own hands and arms. They depend upon recommendations. The only difference between them and a poor Oriental scholar is that while they have learnt slavery in a regular way,according to the requirements of the day,he has not"[4].

A modern writer has thus commented upon the condemned tendencies and their causes. " The result of making Government services the most important practical aim appeared in an increasing low class materialism and love of solid profit which was not only unhealthy for the religious and spritual training of the students but hampered

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1. Hali,Hayat,vol.2.pp.82-3.
2. Jamal ud Din Afghani (1838-97) the famous preacher of the Pan-Islamic idea.
3. See his article "Ad-Dahriyat fil Hind" (Atheism in India),Al 'Urwat ul Wusqa, Cairo,1928,pp.474-5.
4. Hali,Maqalat i Hali (Essays of Hali),part.1.p.176.

their true worldly progress also... Imaginary or real needs narrowed the outlook, and characters became low for want of spiritual training. The result was that despite modern and regular education the Aligarh students could not reach that sublimity-- not only from a religious point of view but from the point of view of a secular and outward success-- which had been attained by the old fashioned, conservative but spiritually advanced and morally strong founders".[1]

Then there were those who objected to the alienation of the Aligarh students from the old Muslim pattern of life. Sir Syed and his associates they could forgive, for they had been brought up in the old learning, even if they had been inspired by the new. But the new generation of students produced no one of genius or of scholarly habits, but only men anxious to imitate the British in dress, manners and thought. There were some College Trustees, Sayyid Mahmud being one of them, who had a strong objedtion to the authority of the European staff over the boarders. Thus in the address to be given to Sir Charles Crosthwaite, Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces on August 4, 1893, Sayyid Mahmud, who prepared the address, included the comment " We waste the College money by constructing expensive buildings and employing European staff on high pay, and we injure the social, moral, religious and national education of the students by leaving them under the control and supervision of

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1. Ikram, op.cit.p.151.

European staff." It required a full meeting of the College Trustees and the persuasion[1] of Muhsin ul Mulk to get the sentence deleted from the final draft. So the Aligarh movement, because of its foreign elements,[2] always remained alien in the Indian society Aligarh students remained, even at a time when the movement had become comparatively popular, a target of criticism. In 1891 a student of the College wrote: "that the New Light people", as they were called "feel isolated: unsympathetic words and looks dog their steps".[3]

The most popular and well-known representative of the supporters of the old culture and ideals was the famous Urdu wit and poet Akbar of Allahabad (1846-1921). He remained throughout his life an opponent of the Aligarh movement, though his opposition changed in its nature and temperament from time to time. Several of his verses against the new elements of culture, the students and their dress and manner are well known to the Urdu reader. A brief selection of his lively verses will show the nature of his attack:

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1. Ruidad No.8 & 9, Ijlas Trustiyan M.A.O.College Aligarh (Proceedings of the 8th and 9th meetings of the M.A.O.College Trustees) August 4, 1893 and Dec.30,1893.p.3.

2. See a lecture by Nazir Ahmad delivered at the eighth session of the Muhammadan Educational Conference at Aligarh on Dec:28,1893 for the general remarks about the students of the M.A.O.College, lecture No.16, p.39.

3. Mustafa Khan, An Apology for the New Light, , p.12.

Shaik sahib Khuda se darte hon + Main to angrez hi se darta hon.
(The Shaikh sahib may be afraid of God. My only fear is of the English)
Murid i dahr hoe waza' maghrabi karli+ nae janm ki tamanna men khud-kushi karli.
(Became a disciple of the world-adopted the western style; Desiring a re-birth, committed suicide.)
Ta'lim jo dijati hae hamen woh kya hae faqat bazari hae+ Jo 'aql sikhai jati hae who kya hae faqat sarkari hae.
(The education given to us, what is it but one for the market. The wisdom taught us, what is but that of Government.)
Kachehriyon men hae pursish grajweton ki + Sark pa mang hae qulyon ki aur meton ki; Nahin hae qadr to bas 'ilm i din o taqwa ki+ Kharabi hae to faqat shaik ji ke beton ki.
(Graduates are in demand for the offices. Porters and labourers are wanted for road work. If there are any things which have no value they are religious knowledge and piety and it is the sons of the Shaikh ji alone whose life has gone to the bad.)
Kya kahon isko main bad bakhti i neshan ke siwa+ isko ata nahin ab kuch imiteshan ke siwa.
(What else can I call it but a misfortune for may nation that it nknows nothing except imitation.)
Park men unke dya karta hae ispich i wafa + Zagh ho jaega ek din anareri 'andalib.
(The crow gives speeches on loyalty in their park. One day he will be made an honarary nightingale.)

No institution could successfully establish traditions within nineteen or twenty years. Far less was it possible for a movement which had to find its way as it went. A very great deal had been achieved in sheer construction, in teaching, in creating a new spirit among the Muslim community. Had the aims of the M.A.O.College been more constantly referred back for guidance to the original aims of its founders, and had the whole Muslim community shown a more generous and encouraging attitude, its achievements would have been greater, and the traditions it established more useful.

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Activities outside the College 1879-1898.

With the College successfully established, Sir Syed's influence on an important class of Muslims was extended and was soon recognized by the Government. In 1878 he was nominated as a member of the imperial Legislature Council by Lord Lytton. After the expiration of the usual tenure of two years he was again nominated by Lord Ripon in 1880 and thus remained altogether nearly four years in the Council. (he resigned shortly before the end of his term). Sir Syed was a great politician[1] and had a close grip of the essentials of politics. As a member of the Legislative Council he began to play an effective part in the policy of the country,[2] and his membership of the Council enhanced his standing in his community. Graham in his Life and Work remarked 'The speech made by the great Duke of Wellington on the occasion of the dinner given to Sir John Malcolm[3] by the Board of Directors on the occasion of Sir John's appointment to the Government of Bombay by substituting Hindustan for England and Mohammadan for Englishmen,

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1. Sir Walter Raleigh, op.cit. letter to Sir Austen Chamberlain, dated Sept. 1904, vol. 1. p. 256: "My old Chief, Sir Syed Ahmed (a great man, and a great politician) was a most patent diplomatist merely because he knew the value of an ungloved hand. He used to disconcert high officials by blurting out the essential at the very beginning of an interview". Sir W. Raleigh was Professor of English at the M.A.O. College from August 1885 to 1888.
2. Morison, op.cit. p.
3. Sir John Malcolm (1769-1833) Indian administrator and diplomatist; Governor of Bombay 1826-30; Member of Parliament 1831-2; author of Administration of India and the Life of Clive.

reads thus,and is most applicable to Syed Ahmed's appointment to the Council: " A nomination such as this operates throughout the length and breadth of Hindustan. The youngest Mohammedan sees in it an example he may imitate,a success he may attain. The good which the country derives from the excitement of such feelings is incalculable".[1]

In the Council Sir Syed represented and stood up boldly for the interests of his people as he saw them. He submitted a bill for compulsory vaccination in certain places of North India,British Burma and Coorg . His argument to prove that compulsory vaccination was not against personal liberty was typical of him. He said: "Even if it be granted that a man has a right,if he chooses,to die of small-pox,no respect for personal liberty would justify the harm which he does to his neighbours by conveying infection".[2] This Bill became an Act in the same year and thus prevented an enormous loss of human life every year.

In 1880 he presented a bill,and saw it passed,under which the Government took upon itself again the respensibility for appointing Qazis which it had abandoned by an Act of 1864. Not only did this restore a number of lucrative posts to a large class of respected Muslims;it also repaired the damage done to such important social institutions as marriage,bequests of property and so on. For when the official appointment of Qazis was abandoned,their certificates of

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1.Graham,Life,2nd.ed.p.202.

2.Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India,vol.xviii.meeting Sept.30,1879,p.232.

marriage,and the like,had lost their official status,and people had tended to take the law into their own hands. Much irregularity in cases of divorce and separation had followed, and in Madras in particular Muslims had been much distressed. On account of Sir Syed's efforts all these difficulties were removed and Muslim society was saved from dislocation.

A draft of a third bill,which Sir Syed did not present upon the indication of the Government,had been intended to control the rapid dispersal of Muslim landed property. He had planned that Muslim landholders,taking advantage of the permission given in the Shari'a, should be permitted to bequeath their property to their heirs in such a way as to permit the heirs to enjoy the use of the property without the power to divide,sell or mortgage it. Some Muslims had adopted such a practice,but the Government in cases of arrears of revenue had ignored the Shari'a provisions about bequeathed lands and sold them to recover the arrears. Sir Syed wished to prevent the private alienation of property and to persuade the Government to renounce its powers of sale. The Government,though willing to please Sir Syed, found it possible to agree only if the bequest was made for a limited time. But this modification was not sanctioned by the Shari'a. The draft of a bill was published by Sir Syed to seek the general consent of the 'Ulama,but this roused opposition. Sir Syed could not hope to receive general approval when the measure was not even based on the

Shari's. He,therefore,dropped the idea,and a great service to the Muslim landholders remained undone.

Sir Syed also delivered a number of important speeches in the Council andrepresented the interest of the landed class. One of his most powerful speeches was that which he delivered on January 26,1882 to show the importance of completing the codification of contract law. A bill to complete the Code of Contract Law(Act IX of 1872), so far as it related to immovable property,had been presented,and Sir Syed vigorously supported it. He claimed that it would enable the public to know their exact rights and obligations,and would remove those evils which arise from uncertainty in the law."[1] It would be welcomed",he said,"by those who who possess property,by those who are under the necessity of transferring it,by those who wish to acquire property or to advance money on landed security.It will be welcomed alike by the suitors who quarrel,and by the judges who have to decide those disputes".[2] The speech was so well written and delivered that it roused great admiration. Lord Lytton,who was present in the Council,remarked that he had never heard such an able speech before.[3]

Still another able speech,and an even more important one,was that which he delivered on January 12,1883,when a Bill for Local Self-Government in the Central Provinces was presented. A measure of

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1.Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India,Laws and Regulations,vol.xxl,meeting January,26,1882,p.63.
2.ibid.p.62.
3.Hali,Hayat,vol.1.p.242.

local self-government, perhaps foreshadowing a general advance to self-government in India, was in itself something of which Sir Syed would have much approved. But it was also a measure based upon the elective principle, and Sir Syed, recognizing the connection between education and government, and well aware of Muslim backwardness in education, was sure that the Muslims were not "likely to benefit from it."[1] In the Central Provinces, under the "arithmetical logic of democracy", the Muslims were likely in any event to play but a minority role. But their weakness in face of the educational progress and economic strength and unity of the Hindus would make them a quite impotent minority. He therefore challenged the soundness of introducing the representative system of government in India without modification. He said: " For socio-political purposes the whole of the population of England forms but one community. It is obvious that the same cannot be said of India. The system of representation by election means the representation of the views and interests of the majority of the population, and in countries where the population is composed of one creed, it is, no doubt, the best system that can be adopted. But in a country like India, where caste distinctions still flourish, where there is no fusion of the various races, where religious distinctions are still violent, where education in its modern sense has not made an equal or proportionate progress among all the sections of the

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1. Coupland's phrase: India: A Re-statement, p. 93.

population...the system of election,pure and simple,cannot safely be adopted. The larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community..."[1]

This speech of Sir Syed explains his later opposition to the Indian National Congress of which more will be written later.

Sir Syed's crowning speech in the Legislative Council was that which he made in 1883,in support of the famous Ilbert Bill. This speech has ever been praised for its argumentation and force.[2] Among the concluding sentences were the following: " My Lord,I,for one, am firmly convinced that the time has come when the entire population of India,be they Hindu or Muhammadan,European or Eurasian,must begin to feel that they are fellow-subjects; that between their political rights or constitutional status no difference exists in the eye of the law; that their claim to protection under the British rule in India lies,not in their nationalities or their creeds,but in the great privilege, common to all-- the privilege of being loyal subjects of the August Sovereign whose reign has brought peace and prosperity to India,and made it a place suitable for commercial enterprise,and for the pursuit of the arts and sciences of civilization ..."[3]

The tenure of Sir Syed's membership was not over in 1883 but it seems that he was much alarmed by the rapidity of political change,and

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1. Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India,vol.xxii , meeting Jan.12,1883.p.
2. Abu'l Kalam Azad,quoted by Ikram,Mauj i Kausar,p.90
3. Abstracts of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India,vol.xxii ,meeting March,9,1883,p.187.

felt his duty to lie more in working among the Muslims, and in getting them to redouble their efforts to acquire education rather than in defending temporarily their rights in the Council.[1] He, therefore, wired his resignation from the services of the Council to Calcutta in March, 1883, and turned to arrange another tour of the Punjab.

Indeed even as a member of the Council he had not neglected the educational needs of the Muslims. Since his appointment as the Principal of the Government College, Lahore in 1864, Dr. Leitner, himself an Orientalist, had used his influence on behalf of Oriental studies, and had supported efforts being made to establish one Oriental University in the Punjab. Sir Syed sensed the danger this could do to his efforts to popularise and spread English higher education. He, therefore, vehemently opposed it. He wrote three articles and published them one after another through his Gazette . English translations of these articles, together with articles written by others appearing in the vernacular press and a memorial by the Indian Association, were published by the Executive Committee of the Indian Association at Lahore. These articles were remarkable for their liberal tone and boldness. In the first articles, Sir Syed condemned the intention of the Government of reviving Oriental learning which was both dead and

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1. Mazumdar has berated this attitude, writing of these "talented and highly educated Indian gentlemen who having returned from England and adopted English habits and manners had lost nearly all touch with their countrymen and were apparently seeking to form a class by themselves in the vain hope of assimilating themselves as far as practicable with the Anglo-Indian community". Mazumdar Indian National Evolution, 2nd ed. p. 39.

useless. He stated:"We emphatically and distinctly wish to say that to allure us with the pretext of encouraging the study of Oriental Sciences is doing no good to the people of India,but is,on the contrary playing a grave fraud upon them[1]". "Even the most bigoted Mahomedan,who thinks the study of the English language and English Sciences as nothing less than heresy and infidelity,believes that our progress depends on our receiving a high education in the languages and sciences of the West,but contents himself by saying that to him his religion is dearer than progress.And if,on this consideration he keeps himself aloof from this tide of progress,he cannot blame the Government.But when on the contrary the Government takes such steps as do not help the people of India in their struggle for true progress, the case assumes an altogether different from[2]".

In the second article he dwelt upon the difficulties of translation and the failure of different societies,such as the Calcutta translation society,Delhi College society and Aligarh Scientific Society,to translate different books on Western sciences and remarked, "We do not know a single instance of any country,where the rulers and the ruled belonged to different ideas and thoughts,and still it attained honour,wealth,power and grandeur,by improving its vernacular languages,native sciences(whatever the expression may mean) and by reviving its ancient civilization...To create this idea in India that we can get power,wealth,dignity and honour by improving Oriental sciences and vernacular languages is as wise as to tell the Red

1. Papers connected with the Punjab University Question,collected and published by the Executive Committee of the Indian Association of Lahore,p.94.
2. ibid.pp.95-6.

Indians of America that they can win honour and dignity by cultivating and improving their own vernacular languages and their native sciences ..... "We are being deceived under the guise of being placed under an obligation on the ground that our Eastern sciences and languages are going to be improved. But we ask, why and for what purpose? The answer in whatever dress and in however sweet words it may be clothed, invariably is-- to keep us in a state of slavery"[1].

Some of his remarks in the first two articles were a direct attack upon those who were in favour of the University, and aroused resentment. Sir Syed, therefore, wrote a third article to make clear that he did not mean to attack or offend the Punjabis, but that he intended to oppose the policy of the Government towards Eastern Sciences. This article appeared on January, 1881. "The vernacular are the best medium for diffusing knowledge (among the masses). But this system is to be confined to country-schools and primary classes, and is by no means applicable to high education or to that education which is called liberal University education and entitles one to the degree of B.A. or M.A.". He approved the idea that the University should teach and encourage the ancient languages of the East," because the classics are the ornaments of the modern vernaculars". But he went on to explain what was the basis of his own fears. "We have said before that the Punjab University, established on any principle right or wrong, can do us no great harm. Therefore, we do not think it necessary to attack the Punjab University College; but no doubt we are alarmed when we see those men, in whose hands God has placed the destinities of our Country, inclined

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1. ibid. pp. 98-99.

to revive the dead Oriental sciences and languages, and then we think it necessary,nay,as patriots regard it as our duty, to say that to think of reviving the dead Oriental sciences and languages cannot lead to the good of our country,of our nation and of the Government.We advise our countrymen that the great aim ought to be to gain high education in the Western sciences and languages and beg the Government to keep the diffusion of European sciences and European philosophy in our country always in view".[1]

While opposing the idea of an Oriental University,he continued to build up Aligarh. In 1882 he visited Hyderabad-Deccan and collected money for his college. Later in 1882 he was appointed a member of the Indian Education Commission,which was presided over by Dr.W.W.Hunter. Sir Syed early resigned from the Commission, but he was asked to give evidence before it. Utilizing the opportunity to the full,Sir Syed fully discussed the shortcomings of the Calcutta University system,the importance of higher education in enlightenment and reformation of the country,and the need for its encouragement and patronage. About the Calcutta University system he said: 'The extent to which" freedom and variety" of education may be secured,depends in a great measure on the system adopted by the Universities of a country for awarding degrees of proficiency in various branches of learning. This University confers degrees in Law,Engineering,Medicine,and Arts,and every one

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1. ibid. p.101.

is at liberty to select any one of these subjects he may like. The "freedom and variety" of education are,of course,secured to persons,in-as-much as they relate to those four different branches of learning. But the subject of Arts is itself a comprehensive subject,and calls earnestly for that"freedom and variety" which have not been granted to it.or have been granted to a very limited extent. The courses adopted by our University for examinations in Arts have been fixed in an imperfect imitation of the London University,and the result is that our graduates do not become adept in any single branch of the subject. I must,therefore, be opposed to the existing system...I would,however,briefly state my opinion to be that the greatest possible scope should be given by the University to the thorough cultivation and deep knowledge of those subjects which recommend themselves to the tastes,genius,and mental proclivities of individual students.A thorough knowledge of the English Language and literature should in every case be compulsory for a degree in Arts.[1] But the candidate should be left at liberty to choose either one of the classical languages of Europe or Asia, or one comprehensive branch of knowledge such as Mathematics,Physics, Natural Sciences,Moral Sciences,Ancient and Modern History,etc."[2]

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1. He acknowledged to the Commission that the view he had formed in the 1860's about the possibility of working through translation from English into the vernaculars had been mistaken."I could not help acknowledging",he said"the fallacy of my opinion at last"Education Commission.Report by the N.W.P and Oudh Provincial committee,p.290.
2. ibid,p.294.

He also followed up his attack on the idea of an Oriental University in the Punjab, by stressing the vital importance to India of English Education. "About thirty years have now elapsed since the despatch of 1854. During this period the condition of India has undergone a considerable change...now...vernacular education is no more regarded as sufficient for our daily affairs of life.....It is English education which is urgently needed by the country,and by the people in their daily life....It is high time that Government as well as the people should exert themselves to their utmost in extending this popular education,if I may be allowed so to call it". "I was forced to accept",he continued, "the truth of what an eminent liberal statesmah has said,that what the Indian of our day wanted,whether he was Hindu or Mohammedan,was some insight into the literature and science which were the life of his own time and of the vigorous race which were the representative of all knowledge and all power to him[1]. And he also warned the Government of the prevalent feelings of the people that Government was against higher education,and stated that if the Government closed any of its colleges,no matter on how sound a basis,people would think that it was due to the changed policy.[2]

Sir Syed thus took every opportunity to impress upon the Government its duty to make higher, Western education readily

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1. Ibid. P.289.
2. This foreshadows the feelings roused by Curzon's measures a decade later.

accessible to the Muslims. But he was well aware that Government aid in education would be useless if Muslims would not accept it. And if Muslims would once take to education, then they would themselves find means to provide it, whether Government did or not. He set out once again, therefore, to make the Muslims eager to educate their children.[1]

On 22nd January 1884, along with four of his influential friends, he set out to tour the Punjab. Exactly ten years before, at a time when Sir Syed's ideas were strange to the Muslims and were greatly opposed by many of them, certain Punjabi landowners and officials had invited Sir Syed to visit the Punjab and to campaign for his mission. After the establishment of the M.A.O. College, of all the provinces the Punjab had sent by far the greatest number of students to the College. Moreover from 1879 a new inspiration had set them still more to work for reform and progress. This was the famous Musaddas[2] of Hali.

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1. The four were Muhammad Isma'il, Iqbal 'Ali, Sayyid Karamat 'Ali and Muhammad Ahmad, Sir Syed's nephew. See the photograph of the party p.408A.
2. Hali (1837-1914) was born at Panipat, in a respected but poor family. After an irregular education in Eastern style, he started to write poetry, for which he had a natural gift. He was for some time Ghalib's pupil. In 1870 he went to the Punjab and got a post in the Government's Book Depot correcting and improving the Urdu of the translations from English. Through these translations he was introduced to Western ideas and thoughts and imbibed a love for simplicity in style and freshness of material. Along with Muhammad Husain Azad he established a school of modern Urdu poetry. In 1874, when Sir Syed first visited the Punjab, Hali attended his lecture; later he met Sir Syed and became a great supporter of his movement. Sir Syed, who was aware of Hali's talent, requested him to write a poem to make the Muslims aware of their fallen condition. See Hali, Muqadamma i Madd wa Jazr i Islam (Preface to the Ebb and Tide of Islam), pp.1-4.

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S. M. Ismail S.M. Ali Sir Syed Iqbal Ali Ikram ullah

The Musaddas is a long poem and perhaps the best in Urdu yet written. In this poem the existing degenerate condition of the nineteenth-century Muslims is compared with the glorious achievements of the Muslims in the past. The many-sided importance and the literary beauty of the poem really requires a separate study. It is enough here to say that the poem achieved incredible success in its aim of awakening the Muslims. It became popular with the whole Urdu reading public, but in the Punjab it was systematically used to foster a Muslim revival. In parties and on all occasions of public gatherings it was recited by professional musicians and the influence was striking. At Amritsar it used to be staged. Iqbal-'Ali, who visited the Punjab in 1884, writes: "In this theatre the national degeneration of the Muslims is acted and stanzas of the Mussadas are recited...At times it is so pathetic that the public cannot hold back its tears".[1] The public was taken by storm[2] and Punjabi Muslims were thoroughly awakened to their need for education. The poem also removed much of the malice of the poeple towards the Aligarh movement and when in 1884 Sir Syed went to the Punjab, his tour proved a success. He collected some fifteen thousand rupees for his college. But the important thing about the donations, and one not commented upon, was that they came from almost all sections of the people: from Islamic and Indian Associations, from small village schools, from influential people, from women as well as men,

1. Iqbal 'Ali, Syed Ahmad Khan ka Safarnama i Panjab (The Punjab Tour of Syed Ahmad Khan) p.71.
2. Al Biruni, Makers of Pakistan. p.69. On page 70 he quotes the claim of Iqbal Ahmad: "the bulky volumes of Tahzib-ul- Akhlaq could not achieve a fraction of what Hali's Mussadas did".

from Muslims, Hindus and Christians. Thus the moral support won for his movement was tremendous. Everywhere he was welcomed as the "moral ruler"[1] of the people. He was presented with many congratualatory addresses including one from the women of the Punjab,[2] and was unanimously accepted as the most worthy of Indian patriots and well-wishers of India. He delivered many formidable speeches at different places. The aim of these speeches was often to do away with the effect of misrepresentation of his ideas and to incite people to understand the importance of higher education and of Aligarh as a great central institution.

The ideas which he had put forward rather tentatively in his Punjab speeches of 1873 and 1874 are now given a more vigorous and detailed statement. The three great themes remained: Muslim nationalism[3] - and the need for unity and sympathy within that nationalism, national education - and Aligarh's importance as a centre[4] of educational effort, and a reinvigorated Islam[5] - strengthened

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1. Rafiq i Hind, Lahore, January 30, 1884, quoted by Iqbal 'Ali in Syed Ahmed Khan ka Safarnama i Punjab, p.134.
2. Sir Syed was curiously conservative in his attitude to Muslim women folk. He approved of Purdah, and in accepting this address from Begam Hayat Khan, gave a typical explanation of his lack of interest in women's education. To those Punjabi sisters and daughters he explained that he was not neglectful of them, but that the old education was the most befitting for them, and that to the men who had to seek for posts and employement, should be left the new Western education. Iqbal 'Ali, op.cit. pp.102-3.
3. Ibid., lecture "Qaumi Ta'lim wa Qaumi Hamdardi" (National education and National Sympathy), Ludhyana, Jan.23, 1884. pp.8 - 19.
4. ibid. pp.16, 19.
5. ibid. pp.187-213.

by rational interpretation of the teachings of Islam.[1]

There is clearly no change, though perhaps some development, between the speeches made on his two tours. But two speaches have sometimes been singled out and used to suggest that Sir Syed's political ideas had altered. The first was his reply to the address presented by the Indian Association on 3rd February 1884. In this he said : "By the word nation, I mean both Hindus and Mahomadans. This is the way in which I define the word nation. In my opinion it matters not what be their religious belief, because we cannot see anything of it; but what we see is that ~~all~~ all of us, whether Hindus, or Mahomedans, live on one soil, are governed by one and the same ruler, have the same source of our advantage, and equally share the hardships of a famine. These are the various grounds on which I designate both the communities,

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1. In his Lahore speech, Feb. 1, 1884, he explained the problem of rationalistic interpretation of Islam as follows: "Today we are as before, in need of a modern 'Ilm ul Kalam, by which we should refute the doctrines of modern science and undermine their foundations, or show that they are in conformity with the articles of Islamic faith. When I am endeavouring to propagate those sciences amongst the Muslims, about which I have just stated how much they disagree with the tenents of present-day Islam, then it is my duty to defend as much as I can the religion of Islam, rightly or wrongly, and to reveal to the people the original bright face of Islam. My conscience tells me that if I should not do so I would stand as a sinner before God". See Iqbal 'Ali, op.cit., pp. 193-4.

that inhabit India by the expression Hindu nation/Hindustan/ and while a member of the Legislative Council I had at heart the prosperity of this very nation".[1]

The second statement was taknen from a speech made only a few days later"...Such were my ideas when I thought to establish at Aligarh a College and proposed it to be so large as to educate and train enough numbers of our nation that is inhabitants of the country,both Hindus and Muslims."[2]

Those who have used these speeches to support the view that Sir Syed's ideas were changing have not always made clear the occasion of their delivery. The first speech was made in reply to an address by Dayal Singh, Secretary of the Indian Association, a body in Lahore largely Hindu in composition(as the names of the signatories[3] to the address reveal). The second was made at the home of a Sikh,Sardar Badrman Singh,before an audience which contained Hindus,Sikh and Christians.

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1. The Tribune, quoted by Iqbal 'Ali,op.cit.,pp.160-61.
2. Iqbal'Ali,opcit.,p.225.
3. Dayal Singh,President;Jogendra Chandra Bose,Pleader,High Court Calcutta;Ramnarain Pandit,Hon.Sec.;Ghulam Hasan,Hon.Magistrate; Rahim Khan,Hon.Surgeon;Gopal Das,Supdt.Chief Court;Edalji Ca'usji,Merchant;prof.Sasi Bhoshan Mukarji,Lahore College;Brij Lal Ghosh,Asstt:Surgeon;Haji Ghulam Hasan,Fellow,Punjab University; Sayyid Fazal Shah,Member,Muncipal Committee;Kali Prusunnu Rai, Pleader High Court,Calcutta;Protal Chandra Chatterji,Pleader, High Court,Calcutta;Yusuf Shah,Muncipal Commissioner,Amritsar; Pandit Amarnath,Head Translator,Chief Court Punjab;Amrit Lal Rai, Pleader,Chief Court,Lahore;Ram Gopal Bose,Accountant,Alliance Bank of Simla;Ganda Mal,Head Clerk,Medical College;Piyare Lal,Pleader. The Tribune,quoted by Iqbal 'Ali,op.cit.,p.157-8.

Moreover there is a very clear statement made on January 3, 1884, at Ludhyana of Sir Syed's vision of the Muslim nation, which is almost certainly a true reflection of his feelings - and which is never quoted. His words there were as follows: "My friends, the word nation is a word which requires some consideration. For a long time, which stretches back to origins beyond the historical period, nations were held to be formed of people descended from some great personage, or of people who inhabited one country. Muhammad, peace be upon Him, put an end to such divisions into nationsm which were based upon worldly relation-ships, and established a spiritual relationship binding men together with the strong rope of 'There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is His Prophet'!"[1]

It is evident that Sir Syed, touring the Punjab to raise money and support for his College, which had always included Hindu as well as Muslim students, would have been unlikely to speak in such terms to a mixed Hindu - Muslim audience, or at the house of a Sikh who was his host. He spoke in the Punjab as a patriot and reformer - but his Ludhyana speech probably best reflects his personal feelings.

However, the great purpose for which Sir Syed had undertaken such an exhausting journey was largely fulfilled . A general awakening towards the need of education, towards social reform was not unperceivable.[2] Back home Sir Syed engaged himself in

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1. Sir Syed, speech at Ludhyana, Jan.3, 1884, see Iqbal 'Ali, op.cit., pp.8-9.
2. Iqbal 'Ali, op.cit., pp.1-2.

seeking to establish first the Muhammadan Civil Service Fund and then the Muhammadan Aligarh Association. The aim of the Civil Service Fund was to help poor but bright Muslim students in meeting the expenses of the Civil Service competition. The purpose of the Muhammadan Aligarh Association, to which only Hali refers, is not known, but in any case the effort to found it failed, probably because the Indian National Congress was established in 1885 and Sir Syed, roused by the threat that implied, devoted his attention towards establishing an educational congress to awaken the Muslims, on a wider scale, to the needs of education.

The establishment of the National Congress was a warning to Sir Syed that education and enlightenment must be spread among the Muslims even more speedily. The M.A.O.College was a centre of education whose students hailed from many parts of India. It was thus well adapted to the task of transmitting Sir Syed's message -- of higher education for the Muslims -- to all parts of the country. But Sir Syed, spurred by the political example of the Congress, felt the need for an educational congress[1] which would spread his message even more widely. In 1886, with the hearty co-operation of Mr. Beck[2], the congress was formed. The expressed aims and objects of the congress were many, but they can be summed up in the following three.

To bring together each year influential Muslims from all parts of India to discuss the whole problem of Muslim education -- and particularly that of maintaining its religious content.

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1. It was in 1890 that the name of Congress was dropped and Conference adopted. In 1895 the words Anglo Oriental were added.
2. The Moslem Chronicle, Calcutta, December, 29, 1899. p.4.

To secure statistics and detailed information of Muslim educational progress from each and every district in the country upon which future action might be based.

To build up abody of literature upon various aspects of Muslim education--and to incite people to add to it.[1]

The whole purpose of the Conference was the betterment of the Muslims--yet typically membership was open to Hindus and Christians as well as to Muslims. The membership fee for one year was from five to ten rupees; life membersnip was fifty rupees.[2] The reason why the membership fee was pitched so high was that Sir Syed intended from the money thus collected to start a Fund, after deducting the running expenses for the Conference to provide scholarships for poor Muslim students to complete their higher education.[3] Aligarh was made the headquarters of the Conference and local committees were established in many districts of the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces.[4](Provision was also made for incorporating any of the already existing Islamic Societies if they so wished. The underlying aim was to strengthen Aligarh as a centre of Muslim educational effort).It was intended that towards

1. Sir Syed,letter to 'Imad ul Mulk,Nov.8,1889,Khutut,p.136, 2nd ed.
2. But the Conference tended to be,as really all committees established for one or other purpose by Sir Syed,a body of well-to-do persons. In the second meeting of the Conference "there were present talukdars of Oudh,members of the Government Services,the Army,the Profession of Law,the Press,and the Priesthood,Sayyids,Shaikhs,Moghals and Pathans belonging to some of the noblest families in India". See Syed Ahmed on the Present State of Indian Politics,ed.Beck,p.1.
3. Zamima-jat Mutaʻlliq Ijlas Dahum,Muhammadan Anglo Oriental Educational Conference(Appendices to the Report on the tenth Meeting of the Muhammadan Anglo Oriental Educational Conference)Appendix.1.p.2.
4. Khulas i Karrawai Yazdah Sala,Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference,1886-96(Abstract of the Eleven years' Proceedings of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference,1886-96),p.12.

the end of each year one of the local committees should act as host to the Conference, which was to hold its meetings at a different place each year. The local committees also had the duty of preparing statistical reports[1] on the education of the Muslims in their area. They could submit resolutions to the Conference. They had the task of putting into practice the measures approved at the Conference. The Conference was held very regularly from 1886 onwards, but due to the great age of Sir Syed it was not held at any place very distant from Aligarh. Of the first eleven sessions, five were held at Aligarh, or at Lahore, and the other five at different places in North India such as Lucknow, Delhi, Shahjahanpur and Meerut. Shahdin, a member of the Aligarh Conference Committee reported that there existed, among the influential members of the Conference conflict on the desirability of holding its meetings outside the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab. "Some amongst us had serious misgivings as to the capacity of the entire body of Indian Musalmans to properly appreciate and benefit by the deliberations of the Conference mainly on the ground that there was practically little in common between the Musalmans in Northern India and those in other part of the country[2]". Even so

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1. The report contain the following informations : 1. statement about general condition of the Muslims. Number of Government school, Missionary schools and colleges, private school and colleges Indigenous Maktabs Quran schools, seminaries, Tahsil and Halqabandi schools, Government women's schools, Missionary Girls schools, Associationsl, industries in which Muslims were engaged, general condition of the place. See Muhammadan Educational Conference ka Nawan Salana Jalsa, Aligarh 1894 (Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Muhammadan Educational Conference), Aligarh, 1894, pp.181-2.
2. Shah Din, Presidential Address, Muhammadan Educational Conference held at Calcutta, 1899, The Moslem Chronicle, Dec.29, 1899.

~~even so~~ some seventy-eight resolutions were submitted by various Islamic Associations to the Conference,as well as thirty-five reports.[1]

Sir Syed and his associates used to look upon the Conference as a most "important part of the machinery of disseminating"[2] their ideas, and they paid great attention to it. Sir Syed's share of the work was of course the greatest of all. He not only used to perform the whole work of the Local Committee when the Conference met at Aligarh, which was often enough,but used to help tremendously those Local Committees which invited the Conference to their city. He used to go there several days ahead of the Conference and help the Committee in all their preliminary arrangements for it. "The preparation of the hall and of the lodging arrangements for the members,the formulation of rules and regulations for the proceedings, the planning of the programme,the selection of the resolutions,and even the printing of the tickets for seats and meals and the keeping the accounts--in all these" Hali says, "Sir Syed took a part. The Conference over, he published the report and sent it out to members. His secretarial work he used to perform with the utmost conscientiousness. Over and above all this, he used to submit resolutions,like other members, and used to deliver long speeches to support them".[3]

The result of all this exertion was that the Conference

1.Khulasa i Karrawai Yazdeh Sala,Muhammadan Educational Conference, 1886-96 (Abstract of proceedings of the Muhammadan Educational Conference,1886-96),p.10.
2.Smith,op.cit., p.18.
3.Hali,Hayat, vol.2.,pp.261-2.

year by year grew in strength; It started with 87 members[1] in 1886 and within five years its membership had increased to 955.[2] It proved "invaluable as a means of dissipating prejudices and spreading a desire for education and improvement".[3] It awakened the Muslims, wherever it was held, to the need for higher English education.[4] It also became an important organ for Muslim representations to the Government. "There is no doubt", asserts a modern writer, "that the Conference proved even more useful than the M.A.O.College itself in the general awakening of the Muslims".[5]

The contribution of Theodore Beck, the Principal of the M.A.O.College, to the work of the Conference was second only to Sir Syed's. "In fact he put life into the Conference".[6] To collect statistics he formed a permanent department under the Conference and appointed some seventy-nine correspondents in the Punjab, North-Western Provinces and Behar alone.[7] He incited students to volunteer themselves for such posts. Within a few years they had registered some nineteen hundred families, in which the parents, though financially quite well off, had failed to provide for the education of their children.

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1. Khulasa i Karrawai Yazdah Sala, Muhammadan Educational Conference 1886-96, p.10.
2. ibid., p.10.
3. Morison, The History of the M.A.O.College, p.11.
4. Nash, Second Quinquennial Review, p.332.
5. Ikram, op.cit. p.82.
6. Muhsin ul Mulk, presidential address, Dec.1895 of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference, Shahjahanpore, Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Conference ka Daswan Salana Ijlas (Report of the 10th annual Meeting of the Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference) p.90.
7. Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Conference ka Daswan Salana Ijlas, p.15.

To these Beck sent letters, on behalf of the Conference urging that an English education be given to the children for the good both of the children and of the Muslim nation.[1]

Beck also urged the more broad-minded members of the various Muslim groups-- or castes, if the term can be applied to Muslims-- to use their influence within their own groups in favour of higher education. Maulvi 'Abd ul Ghafur, A Shaikh, who worked among the Shaikhs in the Cawnpore area, reported on the success that was achieved. "The society is as stirred by this work as if it had woken up from a dream and is trying to recollect something forgotten. Not only has it awakened them to the need for English education but it has incited them to make independent arrangements for it. Many branch English schools have been established in Meerut, Saharunpore and Bareilly. In Moradabad a Fund has been raised and a school will soon be established".[2]

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1. Translation of the letter sent to parents follows: "The Educational Conference is very sorry to hear that you deny your children an English Education. The Educational Conference strongly urges you to educate them, so as to enable them to get a good job and to save the Muslim nation from ignorance and destitution.

Indians cannot get any administrative, legal, medical or engineering post without an English education. If you wish your children to be successful in this world then an English education is most necessary.

The Indian Muslims are backward in education compared to all other communities. They are unable to compete with them in dignity, wealth, civilization and prestige. Out of every hundred students reading in colleges there are but six Muslim students. If this condition continues Muslims will fall still further behind other nations.

We request you, as is our duty, for the welfare of your children and for the welfare of the Muslim nation, to send your children to a school where arrangements are made to give them an English education". Muhammadan Educational Conference ka Nawan Salana Jalsa ((Nineth Annual meeting of the Muhammadan Educational Conference) pp.55-6.

(contd.)

He might have added that the movement also roused the Muslims to an appreciation of the education offered at Aligarh. There is no doubt that the popularity of the College owed a great deal th the work of the Conference.

The figures of attendance at the Conference show a fairly steady growth. By 1893 Muhsin ul Mulk could say "To me its results are obvious,its success evident... One can see its success in removing local differences. Powers which were diffused and fragmented, ideals which were contradictory, all have been drawn together. The desire for national progress is everywhere growing most strikingly ... Its objects and aims, which were once looked down upon, are now being praised; the importance and advantage of our efforts, which our brothers used to think harmful, are now understood".[1]

But as with so many of the bodies established by Sir Syed, the Conference had tended to become a group of well-to-do persons. With this tendency Muhsin ul Mulk felt called to disagree. Only three years after his optimistic survey of the value of the Conference he wrote a public letter to Sir Syed pointing out why

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(contd.) 2. Memorandum of Maulvi 'Abd ul Ghafur,Deputy Collector Cawnpore to Mr. Beck. Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Conference ka Daswan Ijlas,pp.83-4.

1. Muhsin ul Mulk, Speech,Dec.27,1893, at the eighth meeting of the Muhammadan Educational Conference. Majmu'a Lectures wa Speeches part.1.pp.177-8

general interest was flagging and suggesting remedies. Some of these were simple practical measures-- such as anouncing earlier in the year where the next Conference would meet and what would be the main items on the agenda. He also suggested prizes for these branches which played the most effective part in the work of the Conference-- and he himself donated Rs.100 for this purpose. But more important was his suggestion that no membership fee should be charged and that free tickets should be issued to attract important visitors, Hindus as well as Muslims.[1]

These suggestions were followed, and some 766 members attended the last session of the Conference to be held during Sir Syed's lifetime, whereas two years earlier, in 1894, the number had been down to less than four hundred.[2] It must be admitted,

1. Muhsin ul Mulk, Khat dar bab Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference (A letter regarding the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference), 1896, pp.3-5.

2. Table showing the particulars of the Annual meetings of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference in Sir Syed's lifetime.

Session.	Year.	Place where held.	President	No. of Mem.	Vis.	Resolutions
1	1886.	Aligarh	Sami' ullah Khan	87	0	5
2	1887	Lucknow	Muhammad Imtiyaz Ali Khan	130	0	8
3.	1888	Lahore	Khan Bahadur Sardar Muhammad Hayat Khan	258	0	9
4	1889	Aligarh	" "	442	0	7
5	1890	Allahabad	" "	955	96	11
6	1891	Aligarh	Nawab Muhammad Ishaq Khan Bahadur	449	29	8
7	1892	Delhi	Muhammad Hashmatullah esq.	613	128	7
8.	1893	Aligarh	Muhsin ul Mulk	672	118	8
9.	1894	Aligarh	Shah Din	399	30	2
10.	1895	Shahjahanpur	Muhsin ul Mulk	547	161	7
11.	1896	Meerut	'Imad ul Mulk (Sayyid Husain Bilgrami)	776	0	12

Due to Sir Syed's illness which ended in his death no Conference was held in the year 1897. Khulasa i Karrawai Yazdah Sala, pp.10-11. No. of resolutions has been added from p.12.

however, that the full value of the Conference only became apparent after Sir Syed's death.[1] It was Muhsin ul Mulk who "perceiving the great but undeveloped possibilities of the institution, decided that the Conference should be held at important centres of Muhammadan life throughout India. In 1898 the Conference met at Lahore, in 1899 at Calcutta, in 1900 in Rampore State, in 1901 at Madras, and in January 1903 at Delhi. By its means the Mahommadans in widely distant parts of India have been roused to a better appreciation of their duty with regard to the education of their co-religionists, and invaluable work has been accomplished by the dissipation of prejudice and the kindling of a desire for education and improvement".[2]

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1. Even by that date it had, of course, made a useful contribution. It had provided scholarships for needy students. It secured permission from the Government for the giving of religious instruction, in private classes, to Muslim students at Government schools. It had secured the withdrawal from the syllabus of books offensive to the Muslims. It had fostered, in some degree, the growth of Urdu literature, for Sayyid Mahmud's History of English Education and some of Shibli's works were based upon lectures and addresses prepared for the Conference.

2. Nathan, Progress of Education in India, 1897-98-1901-02, vol.1.p.382.

In 1886 Sir Syed was nominated a member of the Civil Service Commission appointed to consider the question of the employment of Indians in all branches of the public service connected with the civil administration of the country.[1] Hali asserted that Sir Syed was the only member of the Commission who was not an expert in English and had only a most superficial knowledge of that language. Nevertheless he proved himself to be one of the most capable members of the Commission, and discussed with ability all the problems present before the Commission.[2]

It is a pity that the Civil Service Commission Reports do not contain the speeches or remarks of its members. However Sir Syed has left a very brief statement about his work in the Commission. "All my efforts", he said, "were concentrated to retain the existing statutory Civil Service System, according to which Indians were nominated for services formerly reserved for Europeans".[3] His efforts failed because it was against the majority opinion, and a new system for the appointment of Indians was introduced.

Sir Syed's opposition was based on the apprehension that with

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1. Report of the Public Service Commission, 1886-87, p.1. The object of the appointment of the Commission was declared, broadly speaking to be "to devise a scheme which may reasonably be hoped to possess the necessary elements of finality, and to do full justice to the claims of Natives of India to higher and more extensive employement in the public service". ibid. p.1.
2. Hali, Hayat, vol.1.p.266.
3. Sir Syed, quoted by Hali, op.cit. vol.1.p.266.

the abolition of the Statutory Service and the introduction of the competitive as was demanded by most of the members, Muslims would hardly get a chance on account of their backwardness in higher education. But all his efforts, like those of other Muslim leaders such as Muhsin ul Mulk, Sayyid Mahmud, and Beck[1] who gave evidence before the Commission and tried to impress upon it the injury the competitive system would bring to the Muslims, failed to modify the opinion of the members of the Commission and they recommended the abolition[2] of the statutory system.

Thus during his service in the Commission Sir Syed realised two things: that the Government, with all its inclination towards the Muslims, would no longer be able to protect their interests, and that the Hindus would try to achieve their aims, even at the expense of Muslim interests. It was these two convictions that made Sir Syed openly oppose the Indian National Congress.

Whilst Sir Syed was leading the Muslims towards higher English education, the National Congress had been profoundly stirring the political atmosphere of the country. The idea of an Indian National Congress was propagated by liberal Englishman, A.O.Hume, and the Congress was even established with the approval of Lord Dufferin. "The Congress was in reality", states W.C.Bonnerjee, the first president of the Congress, "the work of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava when that nobleman was the Governor General of India"[3] The Congress leaders also were very loud in proclaiming their loyalty to the British Government. The first president of the Congress, for instance, proclaimed that "their desire to be governed according to the ideas

1. Report of the Public Service Commission, pp. 66-67.
2. See the statement of Sayyid Mahmud and Beck, Proceedings of the public Service Commission vol. 11. pp. 132-133; and 33-34. N.W.P & Oudh.
3. Bonnerjee, Introduction, Indian politics, ed. Natesan, p. vi.

of government prevalent in Europe was in no way incompatiable with their thorough loyalty to the British Government"[1]. At the second Congress (Calcutta,1886) Dadabhai Naoroji declared that he regarded the Congress as "another stone in the foundation of the stability of that [the British] Government",and declared,"Let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone"[2]. But Sir Syed, from the beginning had fundamental differences with the demands of the Indian National Congress. He and his friends took no notice whatever of the first Congress at Bombay;but the second one,meeting at Calcutta attracted more attention,and a number of leading Muhammadans met privately to consider what their attitude should be and decided that no official notice should be taken"[3].Most probably Sir Syed would have remained indifferent had not Congress made approaches to the Muslims, made the claim that the Muslims were with them,and announced that Congress demands had the whole nation behind them. Moreover the number of Muslim delegates rose from two in the first meeting to thirty-three in the second meeting,and an influential Muslim,Badr ud Din Tayyabji had consented to preside over the third meeting,Sir Syed,therefore, could not maintain an indifferent attitude."He had to decide what advice he should give to the Muslims"[4].He delivered a powerful speech at the meeting of his Educational Conference at Lucknow on Dec.28,1887,and warned the Muslims against taking any interest in the Congress.Sir Syed's opposition was based on certain principles.Firstly,he considered that the Congress activity was"a political agitation"[5]and that if it spread widely

1. Presidential Address,Bombay Congress,1885,Presidential Address and Resolutions of the Indian National Congress,ed.Natesan,part 1.p.4.
2. ibid.p.8.
3. Caine,India as seen by Mr.W.S.Caine,p.28.
4. Muhammad 'Ali,Mazamin i Muhammad 'Ali,(Essays of Muhammad'Ali)p.277.
5. Sir Syed Ahmed on the Mahomedans and the National Congress,p.2.

it would annoy the Government, and the Government would try to suppress it by force as it had suppressed the Mutiny. "The only results can be to produce a useless uproar, to raise suspicions in Government, and to bring back again that time which we experienced thirty or thirty-one years ago".[1]

Sir Syed's second consideration was that the introduction of competitive and representative systems as demanded by the Indian National Congress was unsuitable to the conditions in India Any competitive system would certainly injure the interest of the Muslims, who, being backward in higher English education, would not be able to compete with the Hindus. An elective system, likewise, would lead to a lack of Muslim representation. Whatever method of selecting the representative might be adopted, Muslims were sure to lose. "Let us suppose", he said", that we had "universal suffrage", as in America, and that everybody, from the highest to the lowest, was given the franchise, what would happen then? The Muslim voters would vote for the Muslim candidates and the Hindus would vote for the Hindu candidates with the result that the Hindu candidate would have "four times as many" votes as the Muslim candidate because their population is four times as numerous. And now how can the Mahomedan in such a situation safeguard his interests? It would be like a game of dice, in which one man had four dice and the other one".[4]

Similar would be the results if the right to vote were extended

1. ibid. p.11; Jawahar Lal Nehru says that",...he opposed it [the Congress] because he thought it was politically too aggressive (though it was mild enough in those days), and he wanted British help and co-operation". The Discovery of India, p.323.
2. Sir Syed Syed Ahmed on the Mahomedans and the National Congress p.8.
3. ibid. p.8.
4. ibid. p.8.

on a property basis or on educational qualifications, for the Muslims were both much poorer and much more backward in education than the Hindus.[1] Therefore, he concluded, "the best way for the Muslims was to depend on the British Government to safeguard their interests and for their effective representation in administration". He added that such reliance was the more advisable as the British were Christians with whom the Quran recommended Muslims to keep friendship and good social relations.

This speech of Sir Syed provoked much criticism from the Hindu press, the more so because it was supported by educated Muslims and their associations. Some Hindu papers such as the Indian Mirror and the National Guardian were very hostile in their remarks. The Indian Mirror wrote "Sir Syed Ahmed is only a tool in the hands of our enemies ...He has wrecked his reputation completely by that unfortunate speech which he made at Lucknow. He has covered himself with shame and disgrace by such a speech. His knighthood of the Order of the Indian Empire has come to him at an opportune honour, showing exactly the sort of men on whom State honours are generally bestowed."[2] The National Guardian claimed: "If ever a man deliberately set about cutting his own throat that man is the old Mahomedan of seventy years, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan of Allygarh".[3] The Young Bengal pointed out that the speech was "childish and sycophantic".[4] The Tribune, once all praise for Sir Syed, was now the

1. ibid. p.9.
2. The Indian Mirror quoted in the Pioneer, Feb.2, 1888.
3. The National Guardian, ibid.
4. The young Bengal, ibid.

most hostile of all. "Sir Syed Ahmed Khan" it remarked, "is evidently aging in intellect as well as in years. We have had no time to notice his foolish speech at Lucknow. The last shot fired by the old gun of Allyghar is directed against the unspeakable Bengali Babu. Poor old Syed Old age and Beckish counsels have been the ruin of you!"[1]

But the Muslim press supported Sir Syed enthusiastically. The Muslim Herald, an influential paper of the Punjab, wrote: "We proudly accept the Syed as our leader and exponent--the summit and the crown of Islam, a faith that binds together with widths of iron 50,000,000 Indian Musalmans. Sir Syed leads the way. His speech sounds the keynote of our policy."[2]

The criticism Sir Syed did not mind. He had become used to criticism.[3] But he did not like the charge of creating ill feelings between the Hindus and Muslims and would not let it pass without reply. He, therefore, assured his critics that "There is no person who desires more than I that friendship and union should exist between the two peoples of India, and that one should help the other. I have often said that India is like a bride whose two eyes are the Hindus and the Muhammadans. Her beauty consists in this that her two eyes be of equal lusture".[4] He explained the loss the Muslims, as a community,

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1. The Tribune, ibid.
2. The Muslim Herald, ibid.
3. See Lala Lajpat Rai's open letters to the Tribune of Lahore, Oct.27, Nov.17, Dec.5, and 19, 1888. Lajpat Rai was a Hindu leader from the Punjab who later became a President of the Congress.
4. Sir Syed, Sir Syed Ahmad on the Present State of Indian Politics. p.25.

would face were the demands of the Congress fulfilled. He argued that the object of the Congress was "that the Government of India should be English in name only, and that the internal rule of the country should be entirely in their own hands".[1] Thus the Congress movement, Sir Syed held, was urging a civil war without arms against the Muslims--or rather with modern arms which the Muslims did not possess. If there was going to be a civil war, Sir Syed demanded that it should be with arms. "...we should be allowed to use the pen of our ancestors which is in truth the true pen for writing the decree of sovereignty".[2] The conception of a Muslim nation on the basis of religion whieh Sir Syed had been professing ever since his return from Europe thus took on a new complexion, coloured by the winds of Congress stubbornness.

The use of several means to inspire the Muslims to reform and progress, as by the accounts in both prose and poetry of their ancestral achievement, did so inspire them but it also created among them an unlooked-for tendency. Muslims began to feel that in India they were living in an alien land. They became more and more attached to the land of Islam and to the age when it was a dominant power. By 1887 this feeling had become so intense that when Hali, their national poet, wrote a poem Shikwa i Hind, he compared his people to guests who had outstayed their welcome,

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1. ibid p. 27

2. ibid. p. 27 Most of Sir Syed's collaborators shared his opinion. On Oct. 5, 1888 Hafiz Nazir Ahmad also delivered a lecture at Delhi Town Hall in which he remarked : "The Indian National Congress is the other name of a few English knowing frustrated persons". Hafiz Nazir Ahmad ke Lakcharon ka Majmu'a (The Collection of Hafiz Nazir Ahmad's Lectures), p. 2.

and lamented that they ever left their native homes for India.[1]

This looking back and away from India among the Muslims was matched by a similar movement towards their glorious past among the Hindus. There had been stirrings of religious reform right from 1828 when Raja Ram Mohan Roy set afoot the Brahmo Samaj movement. But "from 1870 a great change began to make itself manifest in the Hindu spirit".[2] This change was a new conviction in the greatness of Hinduism. Under this spirit the Arya Samaj, and Sivanarayana Paramahamsa movements were initiated and much revivalish feeling was worked up. With religious feelings thus nourished by both the communities, there remained only the political field in which they might have worked together. It was here that Sir Syed's apprehension of possible Muslim loss proved so formidable. (Though he only gave point to what circumstances perhaps made inevitable. Shibli, that bitter critic, conceded that "it was the circumstances which compelled him to stop the whole Muslim public from taking part in politics").[3]

The last ten years of Sir Syed's life were spent, politically, in fostering pro-British sentiments among the Muslims and in conducting anti-Congress activities, and in this Beck helped him tre-

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1. Hali, Shikwa i Hind (Complaint to India), In the opening lines of the poem he says: "Farewell, Hindustan, land of eternal spring, for long have we, as foreign guests, stayed here and enjoyed your hospitality".
2. Farquhar, op.cit.p.102.
3. Shibli Nu'mani, quoted by Abdur Raf'i Khan, "Sir Syed Ahmed Khan aur Indian National Congress", Tarikh wa Siyasiyat, May, 1952, vol.2.No.2.p.67.

mendously.[1] Beck taught Sir Syed the Western technique of propaganda and put new life into his aging energy. In 1888 Sir Syed undertook "a heavy task against the so-called National Congress",[2] and formed the Indian United Patriotic Association. The main object of the Association was as the following:

"To publish and circulate pamphlets and other papers for information of members of Parliament, English journals, and the people of Great Britain, in which those mis-statements will be pointed out by which the supporters of the Indian National Congress have wrongfully attempted to convince the English people that all the nations of India and the Indian Chief and Rulers agree with the aims and objects of the National Congress".[3]

This Association, though small, represented a very influential body. It also achieved great sucdess in its purpose. In North India, Muslims "as a body quitted the Congress camp and ranged themselves definitely in opposition to the introduction of representation in Indian Government".[4]

The Muslims thus withdrawing their sympathies from the Hindus

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1. In December 1888 Sir Syed wrote to G.F.I.Graham: "I am very glad to tell you that Beck gives me a great deal of assistance in the matter /the establishment of the Indian United Patriotic Association/; otherwise it would have been much more difficult, or rather impossible for us to go on further with it". Graham, Life R273 2nd ed.
2. ibid. p.273.
3. The pioneer. August, 10, 1888.
4. Morison, The History of the M.A.O.College, Aligarh, p.10.

became more and more friendly towards the British Government. "The whole tendency of the times", writes Morison, "was thus to bring the Muhammadans and the English together. This was a point to which Sir Syed had long wished to lead them;... The consequence of contemporary events was considerably to diminish Muhammadan hostility to English education and persuade them to accept the leadership of Sir Syed at least in temporal concerns".[1]

In succeeding years Hindu-Muslim animosity became still more intense.[2] Cow-killing riots became frquent and Ganpati processions were started. Congress leaders did not try to suppress such things and Muslims became still more suspicious of a Congress which provided a platform for extremists as well as for liberals. Consequently Muslims became alarmed and established on December 3,1893 a Muhammadan Defence Association to safeguard Muslims' representation.

On the social side also the movement prospered. Sir Syed's efforts towards rationalising Islam were consistent. Most of his spare time he devoted to his Tafsir (Commentary) which he had started in 1876. He continued the argument of the Tafsir on the lines of the articles he had written in 1870-76 in the Tahzib ul Akhlaq, continuously seeking to place a rationalist interpretation upon the verses of the Quran. In his effort Sir Syed often made mistakes and his interpretations were not always acceptable even to most of his friends. One of his great supporters, Maulvi Nazir Ahmad

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1.Morison, The History of the M.A.O.College, Aligarh, p.10.
2.Parl.Papers, 1893-4, (Cmd.7067), p.538.

gave the following verdict on his Commentary. "The interpretation of the Quran by Sir Syed Ahmad was a forced one. It is easier to admit that the Quran is not sent by God than to accept his interpretations. For the interpretations are such that neither God, nor the Prophet, nor the Angel Gabriel, nor the Companions, nor the followers of the Companions, nor the whole body of Muslims could have thought of them"[1].

Sometimes it is claimed that Sir Syed's efforts to rationalize Islam completely failed.[2] The success which Sir Syed achieved in the religious field was not as great as that which he was acknowledged to have won in the field of education. Nevertheless he opened the door, closed for centuries, to a liberal rethinking about religion. Such later works as Amir 'Ali 's Spirit of Islam (1873) and the Commentary upon the Quran by Muhammad 'Ali show that Sir Syed's efforts were not, in the event, fruitless.[3]

Generally the social side of the Aligarh movement prospered. It "attracted to its orbit some of the most brilliant contemporary Muslims of northern India".[4] The multifariousness of the movement provided opportunities for persons of different tastes and capabilities to exert themselves in their respective fields of interests, and so to further the movement, Sir Syed's great personality providing equal stimulation to all of them simultaneously.

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1. Nazir Ahmad, quoted by Iftikhar 'Alam in Hayat un Nazir (Life of Nazir Ahmad) p.89.
2. Zwemer, Islam, A Challenge to Faith, pp.179-80.
3. See Baljon, op.cit. p. 97 to trace the influence of Sir Syed in these writings.
4. O'Malley, Modern India and the West, p.398.

Hali, Zaka ullah, Nazir Ahmad and Shibli were particularly important in extending the movement in the fields of literature, historiography, social reform and social thought. (But it is also true that this very multifariousness ultimately weakened the movement. Each one of the supporters differred with some aspect of the movement and made that aspect unpopular according to his own influence. They did not remain moderate in their criticism and set many a movement running on opposite lines. These divergencies became quite strong after Sir Syed's death). Munshi Zakā ullāh (1832-1910) was a great supporter of Sir Syed and probably did more than any one to strengthen the political aspect of the movement. He tried to infuse a spirit of loyalty among the Muslims. He was a warm admirer of the British administration and had a peculiar loyalty to the Queen. He compiled many books with the explicit desire of showing "that in India tolerance of religious opinion is the first and last principle of good government".[1] In 1887 he wrote a panegyric of Queen Victoria. Zakā ullāh was also a staunch supporter of Sir Syed in his educational work. His own conviction was that western thoughts should be introduced through the medium of Urdu, a method he had seen successful in the Old Delhi College as a brilliant student. But when he realized the importance of English he decided to support Sir Syed who had made English the medium of education in the M.A.O.College. "He did not merely stand on one

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1. Andrews, Zaka Ullah of Delhi, p.94.

Wiqar ul Mulk Muhsin ul Mulk Nazir Ahmad Altaf Husain Hali.

Shibli Nu'mani. T.W.Arnold.

side,but put himself in the forefront of the battle for the advancement of modern scientific knowledge. He did not side with the reactionaries. He remained the whole-hearted admirer and supporter of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the Aligarh Movement even when, much against his own idea of education,it was frankly placed upon an "English" basis.,[1]

Zaka ullah also favoured Sir Syed's concept of Muslim nationality within British boundaries. He used to say:"By all means let us love our Musalman brothers in other countries and feel their joys and sorrow;but let us love with all our hearts our own country and have nothing to do with the encouragement of those who tell us that we Musalmans must always be looking outside India for our religious hopes and their fulfilment".[2]

Hafiz Nazir Ahmad[3] was another great supporter of Sir Syed. He was a great scholar and a very good speaker. His interest in Sir Syed's movement did much "to disseminate the new Aligarh

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1. ibid.p.98.
2. ibid.p.111.
3. Hafiz Nazir Ahmad originally a native of Bijnor District,was connected by marriage with an old-established family of erudite Maulvis of Delhi. He migrated to Delhi in his early teens and was educated at the Delhi College. He belonged to the Oriental section of the College and had a distinguished and brilliant career.
   Shortly after leaving College he entered Government service as a Deputy Inspector of Schools,in theN.W.P.where his ability secured him a rapid promotion. He soon became a Tahsildar (1861) and afterwards a Settlement Deputy Collector(1863)at Azamgarh. He also worked for sometime in Hyderabad - Deccan.After retiring he came back to Delhi and spent his life in literary work.

point of view".[1] He was, like Sir Syed, thoroughly pro-British. Through his speeches he appealed for loyalty to the British. He used to say that he was not as sorry for the loss of Muslim dominance as he would have been for the loss of an earthen pot.[2] His argument for British loyalty was that "by imposing obedience to the existing ruler God Himself has cancelled the Islamic Law. Now the English law alone is the Islamic Law".[3] However, his main contribution was towards social reform. He wrote, for the first time in the history of Urdu literature, novels dealing with the "tensions, problems, and bewilderment of the day"[4] and presenting their solution. Thus he wrote the famous Mirat ul 'Urus[5] (the Bride's Mirror) in 1869, and in 1872 Binat un Na'sh (the Seven Stars) to "reform the condition of women and to make them more useful in social life".[6] Fasana i Mubtila (the story of Mubtila) was written in 1885 to show the disadvantages of polygamy which he considered a "great defect of Muslim society".[7] In 1891 appeared Iyyama "in which the need for widow re-marriage is described in the form of an interesting story".[8]

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1. Smith, op.cit., p.39.
2. Hafiz Nazir Ahmad, Lecture Number 21, Anjuman i Himayat ul Islam ke Daswen Jalse men, (Lecture No.21, at the tenth meeting of the Anjuman i Himayat ul Islam), p.11.
3. _____ , quoted in the Hayat un Nazir, p.143.
4. Smith, op.cit., p.39.
5. When the Mirat ul 'Urus was first published, Sir Syed was very sorry to read its description of the social condition of Muslim women. He used to think the description a slander upon the social status of Muslim ladies. Muhsin ul Mulk's opinion was no other. He used to riducle the book. See Hayat un Nazir pp.161,160.
6. Hafiz Nazir Ahmad, Mirat ul 'Urus, title page,
7. _____ , Fasana i Mubtila, title page.
8. _____ , Iyyama, title page.

He continued his work even after the death of his leader and wrote two more novels—Ibn ul Waqt in 1900 to show the "disadvantages of adopting English dress and ways of living and to warn the Muslims against adopting them".[1] Ruya i Sadiqa (Dreams of Sadiqa, or True Dreams) in 1901 to show that "true Islam is rational and there is no place for doubts and hesitation"[2] in it.

In his novels he depicted the rottenness and uselessness of the old values and appealed to the Muslim lower middle classes to abandon them. It was his desire that under the new order and new government the lower middle class should come forward and achieve a substantial position for itself.

In the religious field Nazir Ahmad brought out an Urdu translation of the Quran. (He showed much independence of Sir Syed in his religious thought. Actually he considered "not all but some of his beliefs as wrong".[3] He preserved, for example, "belief in the supernatural, in so far as the Qur'an was concerned, taking the Jinn (genii) and angels, for instance, to be spiritual species and not, as Sir Sayyid had done, as symbolic language for the ordinary powers of nature".[4]

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1. ———— , Ibn ul Waqt, title page. It is interesting to note that this book of Nazir Ahmad was considered, even by Sayyid Mahmud, to be an attack upon Sir Syed. See, Hayat un Nazir, p.236.
2. ———" , Ruya i Sadiqa, title page.
3. ———" , Fitrat ullah (The Divine Nature), Lecture, Eng.tr.p.7.
4. Smith, op.cit, p.39-40.

Chiragh'Ali who has been already introduced,worked to refute the charges of Western writers against Islam.[1] In 1881 the Rev.Malcolm Mac Coll published an article "Are Reforms possible under Mussulman Rule'?"and claimed that they were not, Chiragh 'Ali to remove this "delusion" wrote a book The Proposed Political,Legal and Social Reforms in the Ottoman Empire and Other Mohammadan States and published it in 1883 in English. In this book he tried to show "that Mohammadanism as taught by Mohammad,the Arabian Prophet, possesses sufficient elasticity to enable it to adapt itself to the social and political revolutions going on round it".[2] Following much upon the lines of Sir Syed he asserted that "The only law of Mohammad or Islam is the Koran,and only the Koran,[which] does not interfere in political questions,nor does it lay down specific rules of conduct in the Civil Law". It teaches only certain doctrines of religion and certain general rules of morality. "But the Mohammadans"he added,"have applied the precepts of the Koran to the institutions of their daily life to as great an extent as the Christians have done with regard to those of the Bible,and as much as Circumstances permitted". However,went on Chiragh 'Ali,the Christians had divorced civilization from religion,as the Muslims had begun to do. And as that divorce in Europe had not affected Christianity as a faith neither in India would it affect Islam.[3]

1. See The Rev.E.Sell,The Faith of Islam;The Rev.Stephens,The Bible and the Koran;Blunt,The Future of Islam;Muir,The Early Caliphate and the Rise of Islam;etc.,for different charges against Islam.
2. Chiragh 'Ali,The Proposed Political,Legal,and Social Reforms...p.11.
3. ibid.pp.xvii-xviii.

With this intention he boldly set out to separate religion and civilization. He asserted, again as Sir Syed had done, that obedience to the Prophet was imposed upon the Muslim in matters of religion. In worldly affairs he had to use his common sense and consider the times. For has not the Prophet said "You know more than I do in worldly things?"[1].

Two years later Chiragh 'Ali wrote another book, A Critical Exposition of the Popular Jihad, showing that all the wars of the Prophet Muhammad were defensive and that aggressive war, or compulsory conversion, is not allowed in the Quran. The book also contained an appendix showing that the word Jihad does not exegetically mean warfare, and that slavery is not sanctioned by the Prophet of Islam.[2]

Shibli (1857-1918) was educated in the old Eastern style, and had performed Haj at the early age of nineteen. He was an expert in Muslim theology and in Persian and Arabic. In 1883 he joined the M.A.O.College as the professor of Arabic, and remained there up to the end of Sir Syed's life. While on the staff Shibli did a great deal to further the movement. At Aligarh in the company of Sir Syed and Professor Arnold his genius flowered, and he wrote some of the best pioneer histories in Urdu. How he was attracted towards historiography is thus described by himself. " The tumult about the Muslims' previous achievements was first raised by that group which is called the New Group. In their purpose the group was

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1. ibid. p. xxxv.
2. Chiragh 'Ali 'A Critical Exposition of the Popular Jihad, .title page.

not directly concerned with historical research, but there was no more effective means of making the Muslims ashamed of their existing condition than to say, "There are your forefathers' achievements; you also should follow in their footsteps". Therefore those respected people, whenever they wanted to excite the people through speech or writing, used to refer to the ancestral achievements of the Muslims, so much so that historical research started. Certain writers wrote certain essays, but the writing of history was not the aim of those people; what they did was not more than a cursory work.

"Meanwhile in 1887, upon the proposal of the Educational Conference I wrote a treatise in which was discussed what languages the Muslims had learnt in the past and what sciences of other nations had been translated, and where and when the Muslims had established great schools and seminaries....Despite the fact that the work was far from perfect it was hailed by the people. It gave me the wrong impression that my people had developed a taste for history. But it was an expression of that feeling of ancestor worship with which Eastern people are endowed.... The thought that my nation has no taste for history had depressed me. But the activities of the Oriental Conference which had recently been established in Europe inspired me again.... I thought that the work undertaken by other nations was in fact our work and should have been done by us. It is disgraceful to see others doing it for us. With this consideration I started the series again and wrote on different titles".[1]

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1. Shibli Nu'mani, Rasa'il i Shibli (Theses of Shibli), preface, pp.1-2.

In Sir Syed's life-time, he started the famous Series of Heroes of Islam, to enrich the Urdu literature and to illustrate the cultural achievements of the Muslims, and wrote Al Mamun, (Mamun, the Abbasid Caliph) between 1887 and 1891[1], and Sirat un Nu'man (Life of Abu Hanifa, the founder of Hanafi school) in 1891. After Sir Syed's death Shibli left the M.A.O. College and joined the Nadwat ul 'Ulama of which we will write presently. He actually became an antagonist of Sir Syed's educational and political outlook and his great influence did much to undermine that of Aligarh.

However, when in 1894 the Nadwat ul 'Ulama was founded at Cawnpore, it was hailed by Muhsin ul Mulk as "the most important event in the recent history of Indian Islam"[2]. Initially it widened the influence of Sir Syed's movement and gave it the colour of an all India Muslim movement! The Nadwat ul 'Ulama was formed under the auspicies of one Hafiz Ibrahim Bakhsh, proprietor of the Madrasa i Faiz i 'Am of Cawnpore, and was attended by many renowned 'Ulama from different parts of India. The main object of the Nadwat ul 'Ulama was to reform the curricula of indigenous schools[3]. Other purposes have been given by Farquhar as the following. The suppression of religious quarrels; social reform; the pursuit of the general welfare of Musalmans and the spread of Islam[4]. In its outlook, both religious and political, the Nadwat ul 'Ulama was very close to that of Sir Syed. From the religious, point of view it accepted the fact that the old 'Ilm ul Kalam or scholasticism had become out of date, and that the formulation of a new science to refute the charges made by modern philosophy and science was urgent. It also, contrary to the 'Ulama's accepted attitude;

1. Rustum Pestonji Bhajiwala, Maulana Shibli and Umar Khayyam, p.25.
2. Munsin ul Mulk, Khulasa i Karrawai Yazda. Sala (Abstract of the proceedings of the Muhammadan Educational Conference) 1886 to 1896 p.60.
3. Karrawai, Nadwatul 'Ulama, Cawnpore, (Proceedings, Nadwat ul 'Ulama, Cawnpore), 1311-2 A.H., p.4.
4. Farquhar, op.cit., p.350.

emphasized the necessity of learning the English language and of studying modern sciences, both to provide for worldly welfare of the Muslims and to make them able to understand and so to refute the charges of modern philosophy. In the third meeting of the Nadwa the famous Maulvi 'Abd ul Haq of Delhi made the following statement in his speech: "The religion of Islam is not a house of sand to be demolished by the attacks of modern philosophy. Nor has it ever been enfeebled in the past centuries. Philosophies have been changed and will go on changing but the heavenly religion will never change. Islam has no worldly philosophy. Nor it has any physics or mathematics. Its only function is to give moral and spiritual teachings to human beings". Again he said: " Islam is not responsible for history as a historian can be. It has related those events which could be instructive and a warning to human beings. It does not matter if the astronomy of Ptolemy or the philosophy of Philadelphia have been proved wrong... Our ancestors had introduced these problems in scholasticism to refute the attacks of the Greek philosophy, and we read them to widen our mind. Those theories were neither dictated by the Quran, nor by the Hadith nor have they any religious significance. If the whole of it has collapsed we do not care".[1]

Politically the Nadwa was not hostile to the British Government.[2]

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*1. Maulvi 'Abd ul Haq of Delhi, quoted by Muhsin ul Mulk, Mazamin i Tahzib ul Akhlaq, vol.1.pp.301-2.

2. Karwai Daftar i Nadwat ul 'Ulama 1311 A.H.-1312, p.6. It reads: "If we stick to truth, honesty, piety, following the Quran and imitating the way of the Prophet, the Government, from its own law and from its free wish, will not only respect our endeavour but will help us in our efforts and will rely on us".

Rather its leaders tried for and won British Official support for their activities.[1]

Sir Syed and his collaborators were naturally overjoyed with this evident success of their efforts. At the ninth meeting of the Educational Conference both Muhsin ul Mulk[2] and Sayyid Mahmud[3] hailed the establishment of the Nadwa. Muhsin ul Mulk, after placing much stress upon the similarities of the outlooks of the Nadwa and those of Sir Syed commented upon the vistas of success this step of the 'Ulama had opened for their movement. He said: "Any kind of religious or social reform, urgently needed to grapple with the new situation was not possible without the help and co-operation of these people".[4] And he claimed that "when a large group of 'Ulama is determindd to reform and has realized the needs of the time and thinks useless education to be a waste of time, and when this group includes those famous scholars who are accepted religious leaders and who deserve to be so on account of their learning and superiority, then how far can the opposition of a few bigot and ignorant people be effective?. And how can the reform undertaken by our 'Ulama be hampered?. Besides this reform also is not religiously objectionable in any way".[5] The Conference also passed a resolution to encourage the Nadwa in its activities, and sent copies of the resolution and speeches delivered at the occasion to the leaders of the Nadwa.[6]

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1. The Moslem Chronicle, Nove 12, 1898.
2. For Sayyid Mahmud's speech see Resolution dar bab Taidi Nadwat ul 'Ulama Cawnpore (Resolution to support the Nadwat ul 'Ulama) pp. 45-61.
3. Muhsin ul Mulk, ibid. pp. 3-45.
4. ibid. ; Mazamin i Tahzib ul Akhlaq, vol. 1, p. 315.
5. Resolution dar bab Taidi Nadwat ul 'Ulama, p. 3.

It might be seem that the last years of Sir Syed were years of successful effort and obvious, encouraging success. But though the Muslim response was indeed encouraging, the Government unhappily seemed to be less so than it had been in the past.

Thus on March 15, 1895 the Director of Public Instruction of the North-Western Provinces sent out a circular to all Government-aided colleges which laid down "it shall be a condition of the Government grant-in-aid to Aided Colleges that the fees at present in force shall be raised by annual increments of Rs.1 per mensem from the 1st July 1895, until they represent 75 percent of the rates herein prescribed for Government Colleges"[1] An admission fee of Rs.4 was a also to be charged. The Principal was allowed to make a concession of half their fees to 5% of those students who had passed their examination in first class but had not secured any Government scholarship.[2]

An immediate result of this enhancement was a marked reduction in the numbers of college students. Within a year, from the M.A.O.College alone, which was particularly for well-to-do classes 59 day scholars had left their studies.[3]

Sir Syed at once began to devise methods, on the one hand to obtain some concession from the Government and on the other hand to meet the situation without embarrassing the students. On May 13, 1895,

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1. Circular No.7.of 1895 g.o.No. 63/111-692 dated Feb.4, 1895, proceedings of the Govt.of N.W.P & Oudh Ed.Dept.for the month of April 1895, p.4.
2. ibid.
3. Beck, Report of the M.A.O.College for the year 1895-6 quoted in the General Report on Public Instruction in the N.W.P.& Oudh for the year 1895-6, p.16.

one month after the Circular had been sent round, he wrote to Nawab 'Imad ul Mulk:"The Government Order to raise the fee is undoubtedly embarrassing. Now it has been decided that on behalf of the College trustees a memorial should be sent in to the Government in this connection: Sayyid Mahmud is preparing the memorial with great care and attention and considers that it is very logical.I will send a copy of it to you when it is ready. But I have little hope that it will meet with any success".[1] The Memorial from the Trustees of the M.A.O.College Aligarh praying for a relaxation of the rules raising the scale of state and Aided Colleges was ready by the end of the same month and sent to the Government. The Memorial justified its demands on the grounds that under existing conditions Muslims could only progress if higher education was spread among them more rapidly. The progress already attained by the Muslims,though encouraging,was not sufficient. Muslims required at least half a century to obtain the position in higher education which they had lost.Therefore a special concession for them was not unreasonable.[2]

The Memoral failed,however,to secure the special concession requested,on the ground that such a concession to one college would give other colleges a chance to complain that the Government was partial in its treatment of the Muslims.[3]

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1. Letter to 'Imad ul Mulk,dated May,13,1895,Khutut ,2nd.ed.pp.143-4.
2. Ruidad Ijlas Consultation I895 Md'Circular Director Public Instruction No.7,dated March 15,1895,Ma'Jawab i Secretary Trustiyan i College (proceedings of the consultation meeting with the circular of the D.P.I.and the reply of the Secretary of the College Trustees p.30.
3. Sir Syed,letter to Imad ul Mulk,dated June 26,1896,Khutut,p.145.

Upon the Government's refusal to show any partiality, Sir Syed, with the help of his friends, began to collect a Fund for poor students. Nawab 'Imad ul Mulk, of Hyderabad-Deccan, also raised a Fund for the M.A.O. College students, and thus effort was made to lessen the burden of increasing fees for higher education. For boarders he arranged to add a rupee to their educational fee --as required by the Circular -- but to knock it off from their boarding fee.

But though some practical measures could be devised to remedy the particular situation, Sir Syed could not but feel that the former friendly regard of the Government had altered.[1] (Yet he continued to the last to urge Muslims to be loyal, and when in 1896 Indian Muslims expressed discontent about British policy towards Turkey, Sir Syed pointed out that whatever their feelings for the Sultan, Indian Muslims owed their first loyalty to the British. "The true and sound principle of the Faith of Islam", he wrote in the Aligarh Institute Gazette, " is that those Mahomedans who lived under the protection of a non-Mahomedan sovereign as his subjects are not allowed by their religion to intrigue or to spread rebellion at any time against him. Further, in the event of a war between

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1. Sir Syed, Akhiri Mazamin (Last essays) p.

non-Mahomedan and Mahomedan sovereigns, the Mahomedan subjects living under the protection of the former are strictly prohibited by their religion to side with the latter or to assist him in any way[1]".

Personal disaster also befel Sir Syed. He was facing a great family crisis too. His younger son died in the prime of life.[2] Sayyid Mahmud, the elder son, of whom he was very proud, was broken-hearted on account of his forced resignation from the High Court, of which he had been a Judge, and he had become very irregular in his habits. In 1896 the Hindu clerk of the College, Shiyam Behari, embezzled more than one lakh[3] rupees from the College Fund, which considerably affected public opinion about the College. Some of Sir Syed's closest friends, such as Chiragh 'Ali and Zain ul 'Abidin[4] were dead, while others were becoming estranged from him. Such friends as Muhsin ul Mulk, Hali and Wiqar ul Mulk, thinking that his absolutism in matters of College policy was injuring the national interest, had intended to start a series of articles against him. This crowd of sorrows and disappointments had reduced Sir Syed, in the words of Hali, to the speechlessness of a "picture on the wall"[5].

Yet to the end he was still seeking the benefit of the Muslims and of Islam. A few days before his death there were

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1. Sir Syed quoted by Herbert Birdwood, "The Queen as a Mahommedan Sovereign", the National Review, vol.xxx, 1897-8, p.851. This was not, however, the first time that Sir Syed expressed his ideas about the Khilafat. For similar ideas see his articles written in 1867 and published by Siraj ud Din under the title The Truth about the Khilafat pp.4,5,7,9,13.
2. See Muhsin ul Mulk's speech at the meeting of the Trustees, Jan.6,1895 on Sayyid Hamid and his devotion to the cause of the Indian Muslims. Proceedings of the M.A.O.College Trustees' Meeting, Jan.6,1895, pp.7-8.
3. Macdonnell to Elgin, Correspondence with Persons in India, Elgin Papers July to December, 1897. letter dated Nov.20,1897.
4. Sub-judge at Machlishahr, a great friend of Sir Syed.
5. Hali, Hayat, vol.1, p.143.

disturbances both in the political and religious fields. In March 1898 Sir Antony Macdonell, who was in favour of Hindi, and had in 1870 made Hindi the official language in Bihar, was appointed the Lieutenant Governor of the N.W.P., and the Hindus approached him with a memorial to see that the rights of Hindi were asserted there too. Towards the same time a pamphlet appeared in English in which gross attacks were made upon the Prophet Muhammad on account of his several wives. Sir Syed, in spite of all his worries and helplessness, wrote two articles, one against the Hindi movement, and another which death did not let him finish, to refute the charges against the Prophet. On 22nd March 1898 he took to his bed. After three days' severe illness and anxiety he died on the 25th of March, at the ripe age of eighty-one.

The death of Sir Syed created a great vacuum in the Muslim leadership. He had been looking after the Muslims for so many years, and from so many sides, that they really had had nothing to do.[1] After his death they felt that they had become in the true sense of the word orphans. There is no wonder then that his death was taken by them as a national

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1. "No people at a critical time of their history ever had a wiser leader than the Muhammadan Community had in Sir Syed, and no Government had a sounder or more trusted adviser". Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, in his reply to an address presented to him by the Anjuman i Islamia, Rawalpindi, August 2, 1913. Quoted by Siraj ud Din Ahmed in The Truth about the Khilafat p.iv.

calamity. His death was lamented everywhere. Innumerable condolence meetings were held. Innumerable articles were written to express the Muslims' sorrow at the loss of their leader. In 1901, Hali noted that "there are some newspapers which still keep their columns devoted to the expression of their sorrow at the death of Sir Syed". Even the Hindu press and Hindu leaders, overlooking their past differences, expressed their sorrow at the death of such a great man. The British Government, which had lost in him a true friend and benefactor, also showed its appreciation. Most of the Anglo-Indian and English newspapers wrote articles upon the loss of such a friend of the Government and of the people. He was buried in the College premises near the mosque. At his grave, "Englishmen and Indians reverence one who was beloved and honoured by all alike, a firm friend, a very wise man, a very good man, and an ornament to our Indian Mussulmans".[1]

Yet if the Muslims felt a deep sense of loss and sorrow, they reacted in a way which would have pleased Sir Syed, a way he would have suggested. Under Muhsin ul Mulk they founded a Memorial Fund Committee, designed to prepare the way for the transformation of the College into a University, and thus fulfill their old Leader's original hope and aim. They worked so strenuously and so zealously that within three months they collected more than fifty thousand rupees. In the way they worked, and in what they aimed at, they showed that Sir Syed's Message -- of the need of progress, and of courage in working for it -- truly had inspired them.

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1. St. James' Gazette. quoted by Graham, Life, pp.277. 2nd. ed.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to investigate the nature and course of the educational movement set on foot in North India by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. It is possible now to set down answers to the questions with which we began our enquiry-- questions about the scope, the aims, the occasion of the movement, and the influence which shaped the policy of the leader of that movement.

It is perhaps proper to justify the use of the word 'movement' in the title. That there was a movement can be seen from the presence of a definite goal-- a transformation of the Muslim upper class--throughout the period, from the systematic effort to propagate by lecture and by publication the movement aims and to organize the efforts of others in the same direction, from the consciousness in Sir Syed that this was what he was doing. A steady aim, regularity and organization in publicising it and a constant reprisal of both aim and methods, indicate the presence of something that can properly be called a movement.

It is clear that Sir Syed reacted in the first place to the plight of Muslims, members of his own family, or the families of friends, in the Delhi region. Some nineteenth century Indian Muslims kept before them an ideal pan-Islamic world, whose bounds extended far beyond India. Sir Syed on the other hand, was not

even actually interested in all the Muslims within India. He reacted to the needs of those he saw about him, not to the possible needs of Muslims in Madras or in Bengal-- for whom indeed he showed little obvious sympathy.

If it is asked whether Sir Syed's concern was with the interests and betterment of all classes of Muslims in the North-Western Provinces, the answer must again be no. His concern was with the Muslims of the upper and middle classes to which he himself belonged and in whose fate he was all his life involved. He thought of the rise and fall of the Muslims of that class as the rise and fall of the Muslims as a whole, and he used the term Muslim primarily of them.

On the other hand it is clear that though Sir Syed has been labelled "a great educationist" by Hali, the word educationist must be used in its very widest sense. Even in the early days at Moradabad he looked at education as a means of reform, and year by year not only did his ideas about curricula or mediums of instruction change and broaden, but so did the idea of reform which he held.. He was denied the opportunity of establishing an independent Muslim University in which full play could have been given to such plans as those for Fellows. Even so he made remarkable advances at Aligarh both in the teaching of sciences, and in the whole concept of boarding-school life as being in itself educational. In the wider field of Muslim society, however, his educational movement

was a most successful attempt to solve the various problems of the upper class Muslims, by demolishing their conservatism,removing their prejudices,and so adapting Western thought as to permit them to assimilate it. He restored Muslim self-respect and yet succeeded in effecting a British-Muslim political rapprochement.

That he could achieve this was due to the fact that he himself had been an active member of pious,learned and aristocratic Delhi society-- and then had been subjected from 1839 to Western influence in Agra,whene that was the northern outpost of British power,and to the cataclysmic display of that power before Delhi in 1858. A work such as Graham's which virtually opens with Sir Syed's public career,fails to make the movement understandable,because it fails to show the origin of reform within the reformer himself. From the date of the establishment of his school at Moradabad in 1859 it is clear that Sir Syed was aware of the need for reform in Muslim society and over the ten years to1859 to 1869 he can be seen moving towards the belief that only through the introduction of Western ideas and culture can that reform take effect. His visit to England confirmed that belief,and supplied him with the positive principles and methods for the movement.

(It is worth noting what an initiator Sir Syed was in North India in the field of organization. He not only took over the use of the press and the platform from the West,but such devices as fund-raising lotteries,and the memorial hall which

perhaps wefe copied from the missionaries)

The study of Sir Syed's earlier,formative years also explains why for a while Sir Syed worked in harmony with the Hindus, and why eventually he reluctantly adopted the role of a communal leader. Before his visit to London Sir Syed's educational efforts were directed towards a revival of the old Mughal system. Many upper and middle class Hindus had found a place in that Mughal society,accepting its language,literature and education. As members of Mughal society such Hindus were welcome to share in the revival of its educational institutions. But the Mutiny and the repression that followed had shattered that society,and in consequence upper class Hindu-Muslim unity too. The establishment of complete British predominance led in time to competition for British posts and favour between Hindus and Muslims. It was this which made Sir Syed look more exclusively to Muslim needs--though his College always remained open to any Hindu who might wish to use it.

It was the slow substitution of competition for the old accord,the collapse of the Mughal system made visible in the rejection of Urdu and revival of Hindi,that drove Sir Syed to act as a communal leader. The picture some times painted of the nationalist suddenly turning communalist in 1886 if dramatic,is false. There is,indeed,no need for imported drama in the history

of Sir Syed. His adventurous visit to London,his defiance of the truly fanatical outburst of hostility which his religious reinterpretations provoked,his Gladstonian speech-- making tours provide drama enough. Though he had many able and most loyal friends and helpers,and though he had for a while the assistance of the Government,the magnitude of the personal part in his movement which Sir Syed played,has,it is hoped,already been made evident.

Appendix.1.

Statement showing the number of the Indians Anglo Indians and Europeans in the Civil Administration of British India in the years 1851 & 1857.[1]

Departments.	Europeans Anglo-Indians Covenanted Service	Indians. Salaries per annum. Less than £.120	£.120 to £.240	£.240 to £.360	£.360 to £.480	£.480 to £.600	£.600 to £.720	£.720 to £.840	£.840 to £.960	£.960 upwards.	Total Indians.
1851											
General	1,131	13	77	13	2	2	-	1	1	-	109
Political.	100	16	19	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	39
Revenue & Judicial.	1,523	1,114	1,189	257	60	101	23	15	1	2	2,762
Total:-	2,754	1,143	1,285	274	62	103	23	16	2	2	2,910
1857											
General	1,398	31	143	17	4	1	2	2	3	1	204
Political.	151	16	34	21	-	5	3	2	1	-	82
Revenue & Judicial.	1,533	809	1,200	319	99	73	38	16	2	4	2,560
Total:-	3,082	856	1,377	357	103	79	43	20	6	5	2,846

1. Parl.papers 1857-58 vol.33.p.153.

Appendix. II.

11. Table showing the state of the Arabic and Persian Schools in Each District, North-West Provinces

Name of District	Total No. of Schools	No. of Teachers: Total No. of Teachers	No. of Teachers: Who teach gratuitously	No. of Teachers: Who have fixed incomes	Average monthly income: Rs.	Average monthly income: Ans.	Average monthly income: Pies	No. of schools which are held in: Private Dwelling	The Teacher's house	Temples	Other places	No. of schools which have existed: 10 yrs. & upwards	2 to 10 years	1 to 2 years	6 mths. to 1 yr.	6 mths. & less	Total No. of schools	Scholars distributed into castes: Mahomedans	Brahmins	Rajpoots	Kayeths	Bunyahs	Other Castes	Average period of pupilage: Years	Months
Paneeput	46	48	5	43	5	5	5	17	3	24	2	4	23	7	3	9	625	498	28	-	40	43	16	12	5
Hurreeanah	28	28	21	7	5	13	10	5	2	21	-	12	10	5	-	1	302	253	1	1	15	26	6	not given	
Delhi	268	269	63	206	3	10	4	156	32	80	-	-	-	-	-	-	1872	1198	59	11	242	188	174	6	-
Rohluck	14	14	1	13	5	11	9	11	2	1	-	1	4	4	1	4	156	72	6	-	41	24	13	5	-
Goorgaon	50	51	8	43	5	12	-	33	7	6	4	11	26	9	2	2	520	320	22	12	32	43	91	7	5
Seharunpore	133	133	12	112	4	2	5	78	10	31	14	32	66	8	7	20	1367	855	92	15	137	140	128	8	4
Muzuffurnuggur	158	158	19	139	4	15	9	112	13	24	9	18	25	-	115	-	1516	981	96	10	66	331	32	8	6
Meerut	177	177	18	159	3	13	3	127	15	13	22	25	69	27	18	38	1473	825	96	54	140	203	181	7	9
Boolandshuhur	131	131	11	120	5	-	10	91	10	7	23	18	52	32	18	11	1035	571	54	46	190	124	56	not given	
Allygurh	159	159	2	157	4	10	2	140	4	7	8	45	57	24	14	19	1432	670	54	32	447	137	92	not given	
Bignour	188	189	7	182	3	2	10	179	8	1	-	19	98	24	21	26	1189	705	34	57	162	94	137	9	6
Mooradabad	248	248	4	244	5	7	9	233	10	4	1	52	104	31	21	40	1710	1058	55	52	359	100	86	not given	
Budaon	166	166	6	160	3	6	10	121	7	5	33	44	62	23	20	17	1384	740	29	70	442	35	68	10	42
Bareilly & Pillibheet	333	333	38	259	3	9	4	268	30	14	3	100	88	35	43	67	1941	852	50	15	907	22	95	9	8
Shahjehanpore	177	177	14	163	5	2	3	156	10	5	6	39	43	28	18	49	1158	661	26	45	348	39	39	8	4
Muttra	54	54	0	54	6	13	6	49	2	1	2	4	23	8	11	8	443	171	52	30	128	47	15	6	62
Agra	85	85	3	82	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	847	410	79	15	181	22	100	-	-
Furrukabad	193	193	12	181	4	15	2	171	10	5	7	16	77	26	19	55	1211	451	38	16	628	5	73	8	8
Mynpoory	86	86	3	83	3	14	7	80	2	4	-	15	25	13	14	19	625	190	35	33	332	15	20	8	10
Etawah	52	52	1	51	5	14	8	48	3	1	-	-	see abstract			-	398	198	28	7	134	23	8	8h	6
Cawnpore	195	195	15	180	6	4	6	169	13	8	5	16	49	30	34	66	1056	463	85	38	379	39	52	6	-
Futtepore	129	129	16	113	5	7	-	110	16	2	1	12	40	15	37	25	817	486	16	16	277	7	15	9	9
Humeerpore& Calpee	38	38	4	34	5	1	8	28	7	2	1	4	19	5	4	6	255	178	10	9	43	8	7	5	9
Banda	42	42	1	41	3	10	-	39	3	-	-	3	16	9	8	6	228	138	14	3	62	2	9	8	4
Allahabad	286	286	56	230	3	2	8	258	22	4	2	17	108	47	54	60	1826	1281	28	32	392	56	37	-	-
Goruckpore	243	243	27	216	4	11	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	not given			-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Azimgurh	161	161	5	156	5	5	7	153	3	3	2	14	66	28	35	18	875	364	13	29	403	32	34	not given	
Jounpore	94	94	4	90	5	4	0	88	3	3	-	7	36	24	18	9	567	325	5	13	195	8	21	not given	
Mirzapore	34	35	2	33	4	11	9	30	2	-	2	1	18	4	6	5	241	72	11	12	119	16	11	not given	
Benares	127	127	49	78	3	8	7	75	22	9	21	-	-	-	-	-	562	215	80	34	184	36	13	not given	
Ghazeepore	160	160	1	159	3	5	6	160	-	-	-	4	58	26	26	46	969	356	7	38	519	16	33	10	1

Appendix, III

Extracts from the letter of the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Russel Clerk, to Government of Bengal.

" 3rd. It cannot be concealed from anyone who has been in the habit of familiar intercourse with the Native Gentry in these Provinces, that the colleges or schools established by Government have neither their countenance nor support; that to these institutions they neither send their sons for education, nor do they themselves take the alightest interest in their existence, yet do they seek, through other means, to give to their children the best education they can afford.

7th. 7th. The habits and customs of the influential classes in the North-West Provinces, cannot be judged of by those of the people in Calcutta. The former are more isolated; detached and spread over a vast surface, than in Bengal, and therefore cannot be acted upon in the same manner as the masses in Calcutta and within its sphere may be.

8th. Every town in the Provinces has its little schools; in every Pergunnah are two or more schools, even in many Villages is the rude School-master to be found, yet from not one of them are children sent to a Government school.

9th. The Government School or College, is filled or supplied, not from the middle classes of native society, but from a lower rank, and from the hangers on of our public offices, the inferior shopkeepers, the children of our burkundas, and of individuals with whom the respectable classes would not desire their children to associate.

11th. To attempt then to force such a system of Education on the natives of the Provinces is in His Honor's opinion,visionary,and productive only of an useless expenditure of the resources of Government.

12th. But that Education may be advanced,that the people do desire to learn,and that there is no backwardness in any class or in any sect to acquire learning,or to have their children taught,His Honor,from long personal intercourse with all classes,is convinced. It only needs that our endeavours should be properly directed,that existing native schools should not be cast aside,as useless,and the whole population, as it were arrayed against us,because we will not bend to adopt an improvement upon existing means.

13th. Were our system one of encouragement,were we to hold out rewards to the Master of a Village school,who could bring forward at a yearly or halfyearly Examination the best taught youth,were we to encourage much youths to resort to our College,and their parents to send them,and,thence,after haveing acquired our sciences and the English language to return as school masters to their native villages,to teach another generation of youths,who would follow in the same course,but who obviously would have gained a long step in advance,we might hope that real education would be extensively spread amongst all grades of society. But so long as we isolate ourselves,own nothing in common with the peoples,exhibit so little system in providing for their lucrative educational and excite alarm in their religious minds, by obtruding a zeal for proselytism prematurely, we cannot expect that

our endeavour will be crowned with success,or will even meet with the support of those they are intended to benefit.

14. A revision of the present Government Establishments,the organisation of a system of registration of existing native schools, and arranging for their periodical Examination,could be effected without any additional cost,and the expense of the present scholarships by the location of some of our scholars in villages as Assistants or Superintendents of Village Schools would cover the outlay under this head.

15.The Lieutenant-Governor would be glad to introduce such a plan in the vicinity of Agra."[1]

1.Public Instruction Report,N.W.P.. for the year 1843-4,Appendix C. Letter No.855,dated Augst,8,1843,pp.xix-xxi.

Appendix iv

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The Members of the Aligarh Scientific Society who had paid their subscriptions for the year 1875.

1. Governor General and Viceroy of India.
2. Colonel Ramsay,Commissioner Kumaun.
3. Mr. Ropartus,Merchant,Birla Firms.
4. Mr. G.H.Lawrence,Session Judge,Aligarh.
5. M.J.C.Colvin,Collector and Magistrate,Aligarh.
6. Captain J.C.Ross,Engineer,,Department of Gang Canal.
7. Dr.C.E.Kilkelly,Civil Surgeon,Aligarh.
8. Kanwar Likh Raj Singh.
9. Lala Debi Das,Landholder of Sikandra-Rao,Aligarh.
10. Babu Kali Charan,Advocate Civil Court,Aligarh.
11. Munshi Mangal Singh,Deputy Collector Aligarh.
12. Buhra Gunge Singh,Landholder,Laknau,Hathras,Aligarh.
13. Sahibzada Iftiqar ul Mulk,Muhammad Ubaid ullah Khan,Prince of Tonk.
14. Raja Taikam Singh,C.S.I.Landholder,Mursan,Hathras,Aligarh.
15. Kanwar Muhammad Wazir 'Ali,Landholder Danpur,Bulandshahr.
16. Banker Huttle Das,Landholder Moradabad.
17. Muhammad 'Abd ush Shakur Khan,Landholder Bhikampur,Atrauli Aligarh.
18. Munshi Ilahi Bakhsh,Deputy Magistrate,Gang Canal,Bulandshahr.
19. Lala Mungi Lal,manager Govind Das,Banker of Muttra.
20. Babu Anandi Lal,Advocate Civil Court,Aligarh.
21. Raja Parthi Singh,Landholder Awa,Muttra.
22. Munshi Kishan Dayal,Judge,Aligarh.
23. Rai Shankar Das Bahadur,Subordinate Judge,Saharunpur.
24. Mahora Vizianagrum,Prince of Vijayanagar.
25. Munshi Muhammad Ghulam Haidar Bahadur,Extra Assistant Commissioner, Hardoi.
26. Munshi Sayyid Wasiyat 'Ali,First Deputy of Minister of Bhopal.
27. Lala Debi Prasad,Agent,Aligarh.
28. Rani Dev Kanwar,Princess of Koil,wife of Dubay Ju ala Prasad.
29. Shaikh Ilahi Bakhsh,Subedar,Taliking,Multan.
30. Hakim Muhammad Nasir ud Din,Deputy Collector,Jaunpur.
31. Thakur Makand Singh,Landholder Chaliser,Koil,Aligarh.
32. Khalifa Sayyid Muhammad Husain,Mir Munshi,Government of Patiala.
33. Babu Ram Kumar Singh,Minister of Maharaja Dumraon,Shahabad,
34. Raja Shambhu Narain Singh, Landlord,Benares.

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1. A.I.G.July,21,1876,pp.1-8.

35. Pandit Radha Kishan,Deputy Collector,Aligarh.
36. Munshi Muhammad 'Abd ul 'Aziz ud Din Ahmad,Pensioner Extra Asst. Commissioner,Hardoi.
37. Suti Biharilal,Judge,Jaunpur.
38. Raja Jugal Singh,Landholder Jaipur,Bijnur.
39. Lala Lokman Das,Advocate Civil Court,Aligarh.
40. Muhammad Zia ud Din Ahmad Khan,Landholder Delhi.
41. Lala Saligram,Advocate Civil Court,Agra.
42. Maharaja Radha Prasad Singh,Advocate,Dumoroan,Shahabad.
43. Raja Bakhtawar Singh,Subordinate Judge,Bareily.
44. Babu Kaishu Ram,Landholder, Benares,
45. Lala Shiva Prasad,Advocate,Civil Court,Aligarh.
46. Lala Debi Das,Landholder,Hathras,Aligarh.
47. Muhammad Nur Khan,Advocate Civil Court,Aligarh.
48. Sri,Maharaja Mahindra Singh,Landholder,Patiala State.
49. Khalifa Sayyid Muhammad Hasan,Prime Minister,Patiala State.
50. Sayyid Muhammad Muzaffar Husain,Deputy Collector,Sikanderabad Bulandshahr.
51. Munshi Ajudhia Prasad,Deputy Collector,Land Settlement.
52. Maharaja Narish Bahadur.
53. Shaik Ghazi ud Din,Landholder,Bora Gaon,Aligarh.
54. Muhammad Mustafa Khan,Landholder,Bora Gaon,Aligarh.
55. Munshi Muhammad Khuda Baksh,Administrator,Patiala State.
56. Chobe Dhanpat Rai,Superintendent,Chatarpur State.
57. Munshi Bashishar Sahia,Deputy Collector,Damria,Gange Basti.
58. Sayyid Muhammad,Deputy Collector,Koil.
59. Lala Narian Lal,Landholder,Kangari,Atrauli,Aligarh.
60. Sardar itr Singh,Landholder,Bhadaur,Ferozepur.
61. Qazi Muhammad Latafat Husain,Advocate,District Court,Aligarh.
62. Muhammad Yusuf,Advocate,Civil Court,Aligarh.
63. Chaudhari 'Ali Husain Khan,Landholder,Sahawar,Etah.
64. Muhammad Sami'ullah Khan,Subordinate Judge,Aligarh.
65. Qazi Muhammad Shahab ud Din,Landholder,Aligarh.
66. Sayyid Zahur Husain Landholder Moradabad,
67. Kanwar Bedah Singh,Landholder,Haldaur,Binjur.
68. Lala Chote Lal,Agent,Aligarh.
69. Muhammad Mushtaq Husain,Secretary,Judiatial Dept.Hyderabad Deccan.
70. Rai Partab Singh,Diwan,Patiala State.
71. Lala Kisha Lal,Landholder,Atrauli,Aligarh.
72. Munshi Muhammad Tajammul Husain,Secretary Anjuman i Badaun.
73. Rai Jundan Singh Landholder,Bijnor.
74. Pandit Janki Prasad,Extra Assistant Commissioner,Manjanabad,Bhawalpur State.
75. Director of Public Instruction North-Western Provinces.
76. Director of Public Instruction the Punjab.

77. Bishop R. Hanse.
78. Munshi Muhammad Fazl Husain,Superintendent,Department of panchayat(Local Self-Government).
79. Nawab Muhammad Faiz 'Ali Khan,C.S.I.Agent Kotah State.
80. Babu Shiva Nath,Landholder,Ghazipur.
81. Shaik Ahmad Husain,Asstt:Secretary,Government of Hyderabad Deccan.
82. Translator of Indian Papers.
83. Muhammad Nawab 'Ali Khan,Landholder,Jahangirabad,Oudh.
84. Lala Thakur Prasad,Advocate,Civil District Court,Shahabad.
85. Pandit Kashinath,Landholder,Agra.
86. Sayyid Imdad ul 'Ali,Magistrate,Muzaffarnagar.
87. Lala Bidridas,Secretary Association for Diffusion of Useful Sciences Bijnur.
88. Maharaja Anand Rao,Panwer,Landholder,Dhar,Malwa.
89. Rai Bahadur Pandit Prem Narain,Superintendent,Chatarpur State.
90. Muhammad Karim Bakhsh,Extra Asst. Commissioner,Kunch,Jaloun.
91. Sardar Muhammad Afzal Khan,Landholder,Kotachi,Dera Ismail Khan.
92. Lala Bhawani Prasad,Headmaster,Ludhiana.
93. Munshi Ajudhia Prasad,Judge,Benares.
94, Lala Hira Lal,Court of Bali,Rajputana.
95. Babu Tarni Charn,Secretary Public Library,Ghazipur.
96. Munshi Ahmad Shafi'Headmaster,Wazirabad school,the Punjab.
97. Bhagwan Jai Gobind,Landholder,Surat Sangrampur.

Appendix.V.

"From Sayyid Ahmad,Aligarh,to Officiating Secretary to Government,North-Western Provinces and Oudh (Demi-Official) dated Aligarh,the 7th April,1877.

My Dear Sir,---I hope that the perusal of this letter will never lead you to think that I have written it with a view of the benefit of the Scientific Society,Aligarh,but my chief object in addressing it is to make known to the public the good intentions of the Government.

I look with feelings of deep regret at the present condition of the native papers,as there is not a single paper amongst them which would properly and impartially promulgate among the public the beneficient intention of Government relating to India,but on the contrary they are represented in a bad manner, which is the subject of complaint both for the local and supreme Governments,I think there must be any such paper which would discharge this duty with honesty.

I do not mean that this paper should flatter the Government,because if such were the case,it will not be entitled to any respect on the part of the public,nor would they place any faith in its word. But I mean that it should behave it-self with honesty, explain the good intentions of Government with propriety,and make them known to the public,and if there be any error in the views of the Government,or any just claims of the natives,it should not hesitate in mentioning them,though in a polite and gentle tone and not in an antagonistic style.

If there be any paper of this kind,it would certainly be very useful in the interests of both the Government and the natives,and the greater its circulation the more extensive would be the sphere of its usefulness,I ought not to keep anything secret on the occasion. All the native news-papers now existing are conducted with a view of the personal benefit of the individuals who have started them,and for this reason they generally treat of such matters as many be calculated to please the public,and as for the public themselves they have more liking for the paper which would speak much against the Government,and take a greater interest in reading it,and thus the editor of these papers are encouraged to write more frequently returned to this place,and taken up my permanent residence here, I have again taken the management of the paper into my own hands,

and it is my intention to employ it to the same uses which I have described above,and to effect some improvement in its condition,as well as to make it a bi-weekly paper if possible.

When you will learn that the paper in question belongs to a Public Institution,and the work which I was formerly doing, or shall now do, in connection with it is only voluntary without any recompense for it, then you will be assured that in doing this I have no personal gain in view;but,on the other hand,it is the effect of that patriotism which makes me desire that my nation should be a worthy nation,and should be able to appreciate the good intentions of the government,as I think that the well being of my countrymen only lies in this fact.

I have written this letter with a view that you will lay it before His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. It is my desire that the Government will kindly continue to support the paper in the same manner as it has hither-to done,and although I presume that perhaps at present it will be difficult to comply with this desire,still it seems proper to bring this intention of mine to His Honour's notice.

I herewith beg to forward you two copies of the Aligarh Institute Gazettee,and hope that if you can spare a little time, you will peruse those articles I have marked in them".

I am,yours faithfully,
1
Sayyid Ahmed."

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1. Proceedings of the Government of the N.W.Provinces and Oudh, in the Educational Department,Sept.1877,pp.73-4.

Statement No.111.(a)

Result of the M.A. and B.A. Examinations of the M.A.O.College Aligarh, from the year 1882 to the year 1897 as compared with all the other. Indian Colleges. 1

Year	Number of Mahomedans passed by						Number of Mahomedans passed by Aligarh.	Percentage of Mahomedan students passed	
	Calcutta University	Madras University	Bombay University	Punjab University	Allahabad University	Total		whole of India 9.09	Allahabad 0
1882-87	80	12	7	11	0	110	10	9.09	0
1888- 1892	90	9	7	44	53	203	17	8.3	32.07
1893	23	2	3	15	25	68	11	16.1	44.
1894	23	6	4	20	40	93	18	19.3	45.
1895	22	3	4	6	45	80	20	25.	44.
1896	22	8	5	15	28	78	20	25.6	71.4
1897	17	7	2	21	27	74	18	13.5	37.03

1. Note on the Progress of the Mahomedan-Anglo-Oriental College Aligarh. Laid Before the Trustees in the Budget Meeting on 4th August 1903. During 5 years 1899-1903. Statement No.111.a.

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